



PHD

Young People's Relation to Academic Study: A Theoretical and Empirical Study of Sixth Form Students to Inform Student-Centred Teaching in Brunei Darussalam

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**Young People's Relation to Academic Study: A Theoretical and Empirical
Study of Sixth Form Students to Inform Student-Centred Teaching in Brunei
Darussalam**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Whilst there are numerous studies on young people's engagement in academic study, the internal relationship between young people and academic study is still unclear. This thesis seeks to explain the relation of young people to their academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam, through analysing young people's motive hierarchy. The research is based on the understanding that young people are faced with multiple contradicting demands from the society, which evolve with their developmental age. The contradicting demands generate conflicts for young people as they participate across the different institutional practices in their everyday lives.

The research entailed a semi-participatory research approach, which emphasised young people's lived experiences, from a first-person perspective. Eight (8) young people aged 16-18 years who are studying for their GCE A Level examinations, played roles as both trained Student Researchers, as well as participants in this research. Data were collected from focus group discussions, annotated photo albums (*MyAlbum*) and a 'participant self-generated' questionnaire (*MyQuestionnaire*). The focus of the data collection was on the young people's experiences of conflicts with respect to their academic study and the different agendas in their everyday lives. Intermediary tools were developed to focus the data analysis to identify motive-orientations and their relative importance in the construct of the motive hierarchy of a young person. An initial general model of motive hierarchy was developed from this study too.

It is a societal demand for young people in late adolescence to be vocational and career oriented. However this study shows the eight (8) young people are also oriented towards other objects, apart from being future oriented. They can still have a dominant motive-orientation towards intimate personal relations, which usually prevails for early adolescence. Two other motive-orientations have also emerged from this study, i.e. the societal value system and self-comfort related. These different motive-orientations of the young people contradict the societal demands and create conflicts for the young people as they participate in and across the practices. These findings are important in informing intervention programmes to improve young people's engagement in academic study.

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Signed on behalf of the Faculty of Education

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1. Introduction

Brunei Darussalam is a small country which is highly dependent on the production of oil and gas as its main source of economic income. The financial crisis in 2007, which caused a fall in external demand for this non-renewable energy from Brunei (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012), has hampered the economic growth required to achieve the *Wawasan Brunei 2035* (Brunei Vision 2035) as stipulated in the 9th National Development Plan (NDP) (Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, 2012). This has made it imperative for Brunei to make faster progress towards the 10th NDP in order to achieve the Vision 2035 (ibid). One of the aspirations stipulated in the Vision 2035 is for Brunei to have 'an educated and highly skilled population'. To support this vision, the Ministry of Education has sketched its MoE Strategic Plan (2012-2017). The strategic plan is divided into three focus areas, seven grand initiatives and four target points (MoE, 2012), which can be seen in Appendix 1.

Looking through the grand initiatives and their respective projects (MoE, 2013), it seems that efforts have been focussed on provision of quality infrastructure and programmes in order to enhance the teaching and learning in schools. However, in my opinion, despite these efforts, there is a lack of focus on the young people themselves, the students. Indeed, The New Education System for the 21st Century (SPN21), a new curriculum for Brunei schools launched in 2008, spelled out the need for a 'student centred approach to learning' to provide a lively environment for teaching the curriculum (MoE, 2008). However, I would argue that it would be more meaningful to centre the teaching and learning process on young people if we understand what their relation to academic study is, or what academic study means to them. An understanding of this is important not only for younger students, but also for young people who are at the end of their secondary school education.

My interest in embarking on this study was to inform intervention programmes focussed on improving young people's engagement in academic study in the context of Brunei in order to support the strategy of the MoE. Being a teacher

myself for 10 years, I have learnt that despite teachers' different creative and resourceful teaching techniques, not all students engage with lessons, at least not for prolonged periods of time. For me, it does not make sense to focus all teaching efforts on the learner if we do not know and do not understand how these young people relate to their academic study. Young people's learning abilities and learning styles may provide some information about their learning behaviour and academic performance, but not the insight into why they want to learn. Indeed, understanding how young people relate to academic learning is not only fundamental for teaching, but also for designing relevant intervention initiatives to engage students to participate in, and to learn from, the practice of teaching and learning.

It is even more necessary to understand and explain academic study within the societal context of Brunei Darussalam. Not only does this small country have a relatively small population, but it also has a unique tradition of societal practice and a societal value system that is underscored by the country's national philosophy - Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB). As young people learn and develop in the institutional practices, their relation to academic study develops too. This makes it essential to ground the study of how young people relate to academic study in the institutional practices within the societal context of Brunei Darussalam.

1.1 The research question

Young people in most contemporary societies are born into a society where attending school and participating in academic study are among the many demands on them. In the context of Brunei Darussalam, this is spelled out as the Compulsory Education Order 2007 which mandates at least nine years of compulsory education for children above the age of six years old; and the 12-year Education Policy which ensures the provision of up to 12 years of education for its people (MoE, 2012). This research, however, is interested in looking at young people in their late adolescence, around the age of 16 – 18 years old, who live

and grow up in Brunei Darussalam, and are still in the school system. At this age, they are already beyond the age of the compulsory education period. Apart from the fact that these young people follow many agendas in their everyday lives, including those set by their family, peers and school, they already have the option to leave school life and enter into working life if they choose to. However, they are still in the school system, studying in Year 12 and Year 13. Given such context, this research aims to investigate the following question:

What is the relation of young people in their late adolescence to academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam?

Through the research question, this study seeks to conceptualise the relation of young people and academic study in the context of Brunei Darussalam through a holistic theoretical framework. This is done through constructing an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the underlying systemic relations that explains the relation of young people to academic study. This relation is regarded as a permanent, fundamental, systemic and dynamic connection between young people and school academic activity. The relation of young people and academic study in this thesis from now on will be referred to as 'the relation'.

The term 'relation' is employed instead of 'engagement' or 'motivation' for the purpose of maintaining a neutral position for this research. Terms like 'engagement' and 'motivation' seem to be biased towards anticipating and describing positive actions towards academic study. Using these terms tends to disregard aspects exemplified in their antonyms, 'disengagement' and 'demotivation' respectively. Furthermore, the term 'relation' is not only neutral but its openness also allows this research to be receptive to emergent aspects from this study in describing and explaining the 'actions' of young people in academic study.

Whilst this thesis is interested in young people's relation towards academic study, I acknowledge that there is a broad literature that concerns student disengagement. Callanan, Kinsella, Graham, Turczuk and Finch (2009) identified three broad levels of disengagement: underachieving but not disengaged;

moderate disengagement; and severe or complete disengagement. From a broader perspective, disengagement from school can take many forms, from moral disengagement (Gabbiadini, Andrighetto & Volpato, 2012; Obermann, 2011), aversion from school (Slee, 2014), to being a dropout from school or leaving the school system. Dropout is seen as the end of a dynamic and prolonged act of disengagement from school activities (Rumberger, R.W. & Lim, A.H., 2008). It is increasingly becoming a catastrophe that has impacted the economy of the United States of America (Rumberger, 1995) and has pushed for the need to do interventions with families by schools in the United Kingdom (Lloyd-James, Bowen, Holtom, Griffin & Sims, 2010). Indeed, doing this study is even more imperative, given the fact that it is becoming more imperious to address the problem of disengagement.

A further two sub-questions were crafted to prompt the empirical work of this study in response to the main research question above. The first sub-question is:

How are the main academic study-related demands across the various institutional practices experienced by young people in Brunei Darussalam with respect to their academic study?

This sub-question is meant to capture the various demands on the young people as they participate in the different institutional practices, with respect to the demand for academic study. The question probes into the dynamic of the relation among the different demands across the institutional practices as they are imparted on and experienced by the young people. The rationale of this sub-question is for the demand context that young people are experiencing every day to be comprehended before their actions towards the demands are explored. A detailed analysis of the response to this sub-question can be seen in Chapter 5 starting on page 125. The actions of the young people in relation to the contradicting multiple demands are discussed in terms of conflict resolutions. The analysis of the conflict resolution is expected to reveal the underlying motive-orientations of the young people, which in collective, form their motive-hierarchy. The second sub-question is composed to centre the analysis on the actions of the

young people towards the multiple contradicting demands, specifically their actions of conflict resolution.

What are the main motive-orientations of young people (women) in Brunei Darussalam that make up their motive hierarchy?

From this sub-question, not only will it lead to the identification of the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy, but it also implies the need to represent the motive hierarchy of a person. Through identifying the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy of the young people in this study, a theoretical model capturing the underlying internal relation of young people in general will be constructed, i.e. the Model of Motive Hierarchy. The construction of the model draws upon both the theoretical knowledge that is discussed in section 3.3, from page 54 and the knowledge that is interpreted from the empirical work in this study. The generalisation of the model is subjected to the composition of the young people in this study. Due to some reasons as explained in the various sections/sub-sections including sub-section 4.4.1 from page 66, this study has analysed only young women, hence the bracketed 'women' in the research question. However, it is not the intention in this study, through the second research sub-question, to construct a model that is final. Although the relation of young people to academic study is fundamental, as far as my literature search is concerned (see Chapter 2, from page 28), such an empirically-grounded theoretical model does not yet exist in the literature. The model that this study seeks to construct would be the beginning of a developing model of its kind. A detailed analysis and discussion of the response to the second sub-question is presented in Chapter 6 from page 224. The responses to the first sub-question and subsequently the second sub-question serves as the response to the main research question in this study.

1.2 Organisation of this thesis

The main thrust that runs through this thesis is the construction of the empirically-grounded theoretical Model of Motive Hierarchy, which is built from the systematic essential internal relation that explains young people's relation to

academic study. This thesis starts with the conceptualisation of the relation in Chapter 2. In the chapter, a holistic approach grounded in societal practices is emphasised as the context for identifying the essential internal relation. The conception of the relation in other theoretical traditions is also considered for the purpose of reaffirming this study's choice of theoretical framework.

In Chapter 3, the structure and design of this study which informed the construction of the model of the relation is charted out. Included in this chapter is the rationale for the construction of the model of the relation, as well as a discussion of what a theoretical model is. The empirical data needed for the construction of the model of the relation is also elaborated on in the chapter.

The design of the empirical study to collect the required data is presented in Chapter 4. This chapter elaborates on the pilot study which informed the main study. The presentation of the main study includes the process of data collection, an account of, and reflection on, the various data collection methods used, and the questions asked across the different methods. This is followed by a detailed account of the analytical approach including the tools and protocols developed to analyse and interpret the empirical information in relation to answering the research question. The ethical considerations specific to each of the methods are presented together with reflection on the methods, while the overall empirical considerations are discussed in the last section of the chapter.

The analysis and interpretation of the empirical work in relation to constructing the Model of Motive Hierarchy, i.e. a model of the systemic internal relations that explains the relation of young people to academic study is presented in two chapters, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, in response to the first and second sub-questions respectively. The aim of Chapter 5 is to explore the multiple demands across the different institutional practices (e.g. school and family) that were projected and experienced by the young people in this research. The chapter starts with a societal analysis, whose purpose is to provide the context for discussing the activities and demands across the practices. The presentation of the demands is divided into demands in the family practice followed by demands in the school practice. In each of the institutional practices, both the demands

from the practices towards the young people and the counter-demand from the young people towards the practices are discussed. There are new themes which emerged through the analysis and interpretation process, such as the identification of the tradition of successful academic performance not only in a family but within the entire extended family. Another interesting and quite prominent theme that has emerged was the self-comfort related activities among the young people. In the process there were also opportunities for detailed analysis of the demands from the family institutional practice, school institutional practice, as well as the demand from friendship activity towards a group of best friends.

Chapter 6 focuses on the construction of the empirically-grounded theoretical Model of Motive Hierarchy. The construction builds upon the analysis in this chapter and the previous chapter. This chapter focuses on the conflict experienced by the young people and their corresponding conflict resolutions. From the analysis, the young people's motive-orientation is inferred. The dynamic of the motive-orientations and their relative importance to the young person forms the motive hierarchy of the young person. The young people's motive-orientations and motive hierarchy were inferred from their activities through the theoretical lens that this research has adopted. In a dialectical sense, the motive hierarchy for each young person was used to explain and describe the young person's relation to academic study respectively. The relation, which is the organisation of the different motive-orientations to form the motive hierarchy of the person, is presented diagrammatically for the individual young people.

In the discussion chapter, Chapter 7, three themes are presented. The first of these includes five main findings that were selected based on their potential to inform the development of intervention programmes to promote the engagement of young people in Brunei in academic study activity. This is followed by a discussion of the methodological approach employed in this study, including reflection on the analytical tools and protocols which provide ways to analyse motive hierarchies. The third theme is a consideration based on the findings in this thesis for intervention in the context of Brunei Darussalam.

2. Conceptualisation of young people's relation to academic study

2.1 A holistic perspective of investigating the relation

In this section, the holistic approach of this research in investigating the relation between young people and academic study (the relation) is proposed and discussed. The holistic approach is motivated from my own experience and supported by the cultural historical theoretical perspective. This discussion leads to the conceptualisation and investigation of the relation within societal practice, in the context of Brunei Darussalam.

Being a school counsellor alongside my 10 years of teaching in secondary schools of Brunei Darussalam, I have dealt with young people's issues and dilemmas which are mostly beyond academic study. Most of the young people whom I encountered raised issues around their immediate and extended family as well as social relationships with friends, all of which overlap with their school academic study activity. Reflecting on these cases, I have become aware that the relation of young people to academic study (the relation) cannot be confined to the context of the classroom or even school alone. There is always 'interplay' between the different contexts that, as a collective, influence young people and their academic study. For example, young people move from home to school and back home, whilst interacting with different people and confronting different expectations or demands in and across the different institutional practices. When they go to school, not only are they expected to focus their attention on classroom lessons, but there are also concurrent demands from friendship activities other than their academic study activity. At home, young people are expected to finish their school homework and revise for their school examinations, while at the same time help their parents with housework or take care of their younger siblings. I believe that in order to understand the relation, these different contexts cannot be taken individually, nor is it sufficient to look at the combined effect of the different contexts in affecting the relation. Hedegaard (2012a) emphasised that it is necessary to look at the whole process contextualised in cultural historical values when studying young people. Tolman

(1999) asserted that relations cannot be reduced to sets of variables that can be held constant to allow for focus on the phenomenon of concern. This also concurs with the assertion by Bozhovich (2009) that a holistic perspective for studying children involves looking at the place that children occupy within the system of social relationships. In other words, this demands a holistic approach to the study of the relation. A holistic approach is necessary because young people participate in more than one institutional practice in their everyday lives (Hedegaard, 2009).

Hedegaard (1999, 2004, 2009) presented a model of children's learning and development through their participation in institutional practices (Figure 1). According to her, the institutionalised practices are typified by communication and shared activities (Hedegaard, 2008 & 2009). These practices initiate yet restrict young people's activities and become conditions for young people's development (Hedegaard, 2009). It is assumed that the relation of young people to academic study also develops from their participation across the different institutional practices.

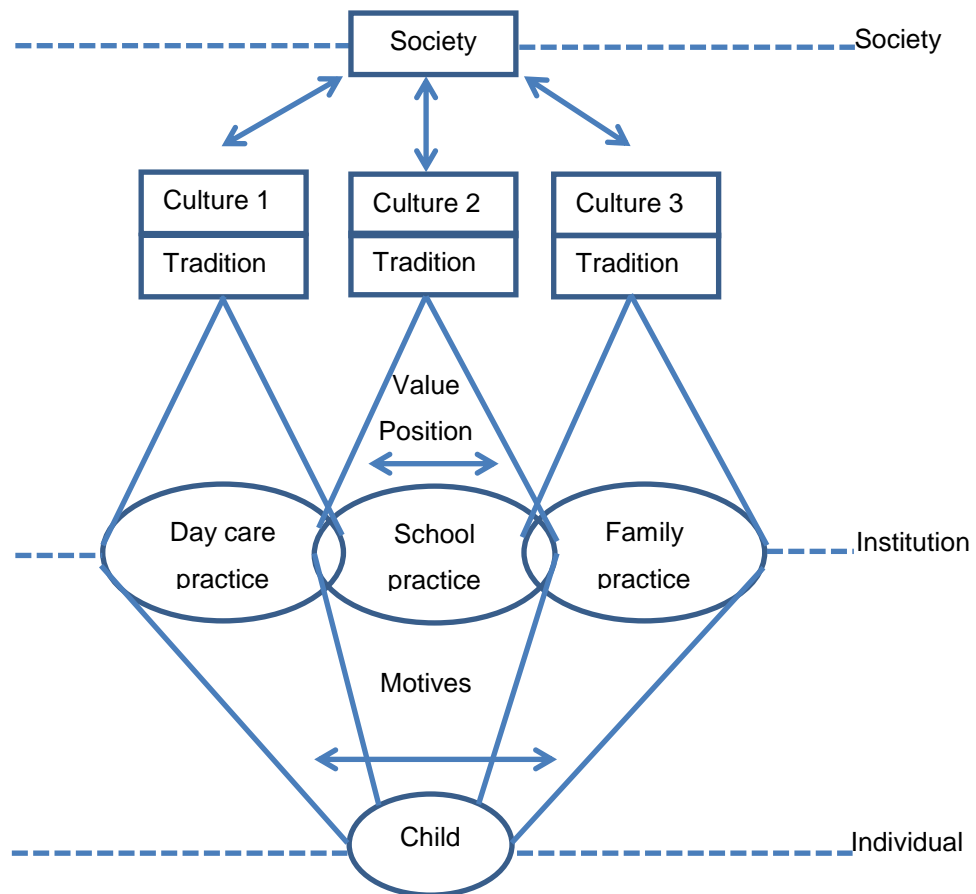


Figure 1: Hedegaard's Model of Children's Learning and Development through their participation in Institutional Practices

Hedegaard's model is adopted to guide the holistic approach in this study. The model provides a systematic way to investigate the relation through a holistic approach. The approach considers three perspectives for investigation: the societal/state perspective, the institutional perspective and the individual perspective. According to Hedegaard, analysing a young person should take into account the young person's everyday life across the different institutional practices (Hedegaard, 2008). In this respect, young people are not "inscribed into each other but influence[s] each other dialectically" (Hedegaard, 2009:65). Other central aspects that go with Hedegaard's model are the concepts of motive and developmental age-related orientation and activities (Hedegaard, 2008), which form powerful theoretical tools for analysing the relation. The role of the concept of motive in this study is explained in Section 3.2 on page 48. The breadth and depth which Hedegaard's model provides concurs with the need for

this research to understand and describe the relation of young people in their late adolescence to academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam.

The relation is conceptualised as the essential internal relation, which is informed by the idea of theoretical abstraction within the cultural historical tradition, as suggested by Davydov (1990). Chaiklin (2011b:143) described a relation as the 'conditional-genetic relation', which is the law that describes the necessary general (abstract) relation. It is derived from the genetic reconstruction of the systemic whole within the societal process that gives rise to the phenotype, the empirical appearance of a phenomenon (Davydov, 1990). This law is fundamental enough that it can be applied to explain a particular empirical event (rising to the concrete).

It is an assumption in this thesis that the identification of the essential internal relation is best able to explain the relation of young people and academic study (the relation). Considering the fact that young people aged 16 – 18 years old in Brunei Darussalam participate mainly in family and school institutional practices, it is assumed that the essential internal relationships will mostly be contained in these two institutional practices. There are two other activities that are noticeably important to young people but do not sit well in either of the institutional practices: internet activity and friendship activity. In this research, considering the fact that use of the internet takes place mostly in the home setting, it is taken as one of the tasks in the family institutional practice. Similarly, friendship activity is considered as a task within the school institutional practice, as it mostly takes place in the school setting. With the assumption that family and school are the main institutional practices in which young people aged 16-18 in Brunei participate, this research will investigate these areas to identify the essential internal relationships which can explain the relation.

2.2 Conception of young people and academic study

This research seeks to explore the essential internal relation that explains young people's relation to academic study through their participation in activities across the institutional practices, particularly their manifestation of actions. Etelapelto, Vahasantanen, Hokka and Paloneimi (2013) implied that the interest in studying people's actions can be found in the literature of human agency. Human agency has been one of the 'fundamental tenets of Western thought and civilization' (Sugarman & Sokol, 2012:1) and still remains of interest to researchers from across different theoretical traditions, even up to very recently (see Etelapelto, et.al., 2013). The interest in understanding human agency lies in trying to explain why people do what they do from the perspective of human relation to the world.

The various theoretical traditions that try to explain human agency can be charted along two ends of a continuum, internalist and externalist (Sugarman & Sokol, 2012). On the one end, human agency is accounted as located within a person or individual, and this tradition would be satisfied with psychological explanation for human agency. While on the other end, human agency is seen as including both the individual person and his or her context, although the extent to which the individual contributes to the agency could slide to the minimum, or be omitted (ibid).

Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 970) has defined human agency as:

The temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environment – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations.

According to them, the structure through which actions are played out is framed as dynamic as it is capable of reproduction and transformation through the actors' interaction with the contemporary situations. In understanding the action by an actor, the concept of human agency considers what was the usual thought and action in the past that has been formed as habit, and this refers to the iterational

element according to Emibayer and Miche (1998). The consideration of the actions also extends to the anticipation of the future, the projective element (ibid), in judging what actions should be taken in the current context of changing situations and demands, the practice-evaluative element (ibid).

At a glance, the definition by Emibayer and Miche (1998) is quite similar to that of Bozhovich (2009), where the latter posited a person's internal position as circumscribed by the person's past in relation to the future position from where the person is in life at the present moment. This calls for the consideration of human agency from the alliance of the person and his context beyond a linear relation. This research has capitalised on the internal position through the concept of motive, perpetuated by Leontiev (1978), as elaborated in Section 3.2. In contrast to the definition of human agency by Emibayer and Miche (1998) which is based on habit, imagination and judgment to bring the past, future and present into existence, Leontiev's concept of object-oriented motive offers a strong structure of theoretical concepts against which human agency can be explained.

Etelapelto et.al. (2013) however has criticised Leontiev's concept of object-oriented human activity for neglecting individual agency. The concept is said to have focused on goal-directed actions and procedural level operation. This allegation is rather inaccurate. Leontiev (1978) emphasised within his concept of motive, the distinction of meaning, which is between communal and personal sense. Personal sense develops when the individual reflects and integrates the communal meaning to the system of meaning that the individual has developed. This is when external objects are interiorised and appropriated by the person. Personal sense and motive-orientation develops dialectically for a person, and through which the person sees and acts in this world, and this explains human agency from the perspective of the Theory of Activity.

Nonetheless, to reaffirm the adoption of the Theory of Activity as the theoretical framework for this study, the following sub-sections will present the conception of the relation in other theoretical traditions. The discussion will start with the

perspective of attributing agency to the individual person, i.e. the behaviourist and cognitivist perspective, with minimal regard for the context of the practice. The discussion continues to consider the increasing interpenetration of context and individual person, starting with the contextualist perspective. This perspective considers the context but treats it as separate from the individual rather than taking it as the practices which the individual participates in and is in dialectic relation with. This is followed by discussion of the situated perspective and the concept of habitus, which is grounded in the importance of institutional practices. A major differentiating factor that sets these traditions apart is the way in which the relation is conceptualised. Compared to the Theory of Activity, they also lack a concrete analytical tool, such as the motive concept that is the basis of the Theory of Activity.

2.2.1 From behaviourist and cognitivist perspectives

From behaviourist and cognitivist perspectives, conceptualisation of the relation can mainly be found in literature on motivation and engagement. There has been a growing research interest in both the area of engagement (Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris, 2004) and motivation (Martin & Dowson, 2009), but unfortunately there are still claims of a lack of consensus in their definition and construction (Fredricks et.al., 2004; Murphy and Alexander, 2000; Pintrich, 2003). This sub-section will present the discussion and rejection of behaviourist and cognitivist perspectives as the theoretical framework for this research from four viewpoints. First is the lack of standardisation in the literature on the construction of both motivation and engagement. Second is the lack of consensus in the conceptualisation of the relationship between motivation and engagement. This is so much so that while the literature on motivation has tried to conceptualise the source of engagement, the literature on engagement seems to have its own hypothesis rather than capitalising on the classical theory of motivation. Third is the focus on the source of the action of engagement as being located within the person, either in their observed actions or their cognition. Fourth is the

conception of the relationship between the source and the action of engagement as being cause-effect.

To look at the first viewpoint, it is clear that there is a lack of standardisation in the conceptualisation and the construct of both engagement and motivation. The lack of standardisation of the conception of engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004; Schunk, 2000) and of consensus on the understanding of motivation and how motivation should be analysed (Galloway, Rogers, Armstrong, Leo & Jackson, 1998) leads to overlap in the research and findings in the literature. Indeed, it is challenging to come to a generally accepted construct of motivation and engagement (Galloway et al., 1998) because of the claim that motivation (Li, 1999; Martin, 2007; Mitchell, 1982) and engagement (Appleton, Christenson and Furlong, 2008; Fredricks et al., 2004; Zyngier, 2008) are of multiple constructs. Engagement is generally conceptualised as behavioural, emotional, cognitive, or a combination of these (Fredricks et al., 2004; Appleton et al., 2008; Bohnert, Fredricks and Randall, 2010; Rechly, Huebner, Appleton and Antaramian, 2008; Bartko, 2005), and cognitive engagement is the closest of the three to the definition of motivation (Fredricks et al., 2004). It is perplexing to have such a divide when we are trying to understand the same single individual (Fredricks, 2005).

In fact, there have been requests for the unison of the three broad constructs and integration of the consequently disjointed research (Fredricks et al., 2004; Murphy & Alexander, 2000; Pintrich, 2003); calls for more integrative approaches to its research and theorising (Bong, 1996; Martin 2005; Martin & Marsh, 2005; Murphy & Alexander, 2000; Pintrich, 2003); and incorporation of social processes (Schunk, 2000) to allow for a richer characterisation of engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004). In addition, there have also been suggestions to focus on long-term motivation and conduct systematic longitudinal investigation of motivation (Murphy & Alexander, 2000; Schunk, 2000). Fredricks et al. (2004) further cautions that new research with only a slight difference to the existing concepts of engagement will lead not only to problematic proliferation of the concept, but also offer no significant clarity. In fact, even with the numerous constructs of motivation, there is still much to be done (Schunk, 2000; Murphy & Alexander,

2000). My argument with respect to the suggestion by Fredrick et al. (2004) is that the three constructs of engagement, albeit in unison, will remain an empirical characterisation. The problematic proliferation suggested by Fredrick et al. (2004) is and would be the consequence of accumulation of empirical evidence of the surface appearance of the phenomenon. This empirical evidence is patchy as it corresponds to the partial conceptions of engagement in the respective pieces of research.

Second, there is a lack of correspondence between the literature on motivation and engagement, which seems to explain the different directions of these two concepts. Most of the time, motivation is seen as separate from engagement (see Lawson & Lawson, 2013; Prat-Sala & Redford, 2010), but for others, the two concepts are not distinguished (Martin, 2005, 2008). The definition of motivation can stand alone, such as that generalised by Martin and Dowson (2009) as ‘a set of interrelated beliefs and emotions that influence and direct behaviour’. Similarly, the research on engagement can also be independent of motivation, where it is conceptualised as the willingness to participate in academic tasks (Zyngier, 2008) and the energy in action (Appleton et al., 2008; Russell, Ainley & Frydenberg, 2005, as cited by Ainley, 2012) that relates a person and an activity. Other researchers conceptualise motivation as related to engagement, such as Lawson and Lawson (2013), who described motivation as the energy and direction that provide the context for engagement actions to take place. On the other hand, Appleton et al. (2008) commented that although motivation is necessary, it is not sufficient for engagement to take place. Conversely, Martin (2008b) treated motivation and engagement as similar and defined them as the person’s energy and drive to achieve their potential and the resulting behaviour that comes with it.

This lack of consensus can be traced further into the conceptualisation of engagement. The conception of engagement appears to be focussed on two perspectives: the identification and measurement of the extent or degree of engagement and the source of explanation to justify the action of engagement. Research in the first category seems to ‘quantify’ and ‘qualify’ the action of engagement into some categorical range. For instance, the categories of substantial and procedural engagement are used by Nystrand and Gamoran

(1991). These categories resonate with the concept of deep and surface learning (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996, Kember, 1996 and Hockings, 2009; Webb, 1997). There are also the concept of Flow Theory, which describes an intense degree of engagement (Wong & Csikszentmihalyi, 1991; Shernoff, Csikszentmihalyi, Schneider and Shernoff, 2003), and Congruous Autonomy, which describes extraordinary commitment (Scott, 2004).

Engagement is also conceptualised as the source that induces the action of engagement. There are many factors ascribed as the source of engagement, including those from the literature on motivation and literature on engagement itself. However, there is a lack of consistency in the sources that are identified as motivating the actions of engagement. The literature on motivation presents more traditional motivation theories focussed on individual needs (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2000), cognitive approaches (Mitchell, 1982) or intrinsic/extrinsic motivation (Brewster & Fager, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Other motivation theories seem to focus on different psychological aspects, from the belief in one's own capacity for self-efficacy, for instance, to one's attribution of the cause of an event or outcome to oneself (Martin & Dowson, 2009). Motivation is also seen as an outcome of a myriad of factors, among others, the involvement of parents (Gonzalez-DeHass, Willems & Holbein, 2005) and significant others Martin and Dowson (2009).

Meanwhile, many of the factors considered in the literature to be the source of engagement do not refer to traditional motivation theories. For instance, in their investigation of deep and surface learning approaches (see Beattie, Collins and McInnes, 1997), three out of four independent research groups, each using their own framework, conceptualised the source that drives deep and surface learning actions as comprised of 'personality', motivational and study method variables (The Lancaster Group), personal and institutional characteristics (The Australian Group), and intention of the students (The Swedish Group). There was no mention of traditional theories of motivation. Another example is the study of student engagement using Flow Theory, in which Shernoff et al., (2003) asserted that intense engagement may be influenced by factors such as the relevance of instruction, teachers, demographics and learning history. With such a vast

account of the source of motivation, it is ironic that motivation theories are not considered as the source that explains engagement. As far as my research is concerned, not only that these inconsistencies and disagreements in identifying the source of engagement exist in the literature, they are also in fact dealing with the surface level of the phenomenon, and do not explore deep enough for this research.

Generally, from the discussion so far, the conception of the relation in terms of engagement has focussed mainly on young people's engagement actions towards academic study and the force that induces that engagement. This conceptualisation has not considered the different contexts that contribute to explaining the relation. What is more, in my opinion, the reasons used to explain actions of engagement refer only to the surface appearance, or surface level characteristics, of the relation. Surface appearance, according to Davydov (1990), only provides data at the empirical level and not the underlying system of internal relations, which is the relation that this research aims to identify. The literature on both motivation and engagement has reduced the action of engagement and the source that motivates it to focus on either the young people as individuals and/or the different factors surrounding them. This view has isolated the individual from his everyday participation in the different institutional practices. It has also overlooked the integration of the individual perspective through developmental age-related activities and orientation. As such, it is incompatible with the holistic approach that this research has chosen.

Another point that can be observed from the discussion so far is the conception of the relationship between the source of engagement and engagement actions, which is mainly in the form of a cause-effect relationship. As such, there is a high tendency to look to the source of engagement actions as the predicting factor for whether young people are disposed to engage with academic study (Mitchell, 1982). In this relationship, it is expected that the source of engagement actions is the predicting variable to explain how disposed young people are towards academic study. Two of the many examples to illustrate the cause-effect relationship can be seen in the research by Mahoney, Vandell, Simpkins, and Zarett (2009) on predictors of engagement and Bohnert et al.'s (2010) model of

youth participation in organised activity. The two studies were specifically interested in the antecedent for youth engagement in some of their learning programmes. Bohnert et al. (2010) have constructed models that incorporate variables which foretell the pattern of youth engagement in their learning programmes.

Taking the source of engagement actions as the context or causal factor that predicts young people's actions of engagement has reduced the social relationship between young people and institutional practices to stagnant variables. Moreover, in order to investigate the cause-effect relationship, the different aspects of the causes need to be identified as variables and to be correlated to the actions of engagement, whilst holding other variables constant. Due to the dynamicity of the practice, it is indeed impossible to maintain such a position (Tolman, 1999). Paradoxically, Zyngier (2008) asserted that engagement is not a predictor for academic success and it cannot be equated to high academic achievement. Indeed, the conceptualisation of the relationship between the source and the action of engagement as a cause-effect relationship is not in line with the dialectical relationship between young people and institutional practices that this research adopts.

2.2.2 From a contextualist perspective

Context is an important aspect in the consideration of motivation and engagement. This sub-section will review and discuss the literature that tries to consider context in explaining the relation of young people to academic study (the relation). Generally, there are two main ways that context is conceptualised: first, as a set of influencing variables; and second, as the institutional practices in which young people actively participate. This sub-section will present the discussion using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model as an example, rejecting the cause-effect relationship that the model projects, but accepting the multiple layers of the system as supporting the holistic approach of this research.

Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1986) described his model of 'The ecology of human development' as situating a person within a system of nested interconnected layers of systems, namely the micro-, meso-, exo, and macrosystems. Later, he came up with another more advanced model, the bioecological model, which highlights the 'proximal processes' and 'time perspective' (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Wong, 2001). In his models, Bronfenbrenner (1986) tried to consider ecology and family as the context for human development.

From the research examples for Bronfenbrenner's models (see Bronfenbrenner, 1986), it appears that his main interest is in finding the correlation between the many factors in the various system levels in order to explain a social phenomenon. The bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994) further refines the different aspects in the context of human development, to allow better findings in terms of the correlation and identification of antecedents to the social phenomena concerned. Finding the correlations to identify antecedents creates a cause-effect relationship, but does not allow the essential internal relations that explain the relation to be traced. A contextualist perspective in this sense, according to Greeno et al. (1998), is still focussed on the individual and disregards the underlying generating system as a whole. According to Tolman (1999), this approach is a fair representative of the Anglo-American empiricist perspective and seeks to overcome the emphasis of behaviourists and cognitivists on individual development. Tolman (1999:80) said:

In both contextualist and behaviourist positions, the individual is treated as pre-existing, coming to society to be further shaped by external influences encountered there. The essential societal individual of activity theory is absent.

Greeno et al. (1998) argued further that the contextualists have reduced the social, material and information environments to the context in which individual behaviour occurs, rather than treating them as part of the practice in which the individual is engaged. Indeed, some researchers took part of the context out of

the systemic relations in the society to analyse engagement (see Fredricks et al., 2005) and disregarded the systemic theoretical connection between school and other institutional practices in society. Such reduced conceptualisations of the context are not sufficient to trace the relation.

Nonetheless, Hedegaard (2009, 2012a, 2012b) said that Bronfenbrenner's model provides the conditions for young people's development, which is inscribed into the layers in the model. However, she argues that Brofenbrenner's model does not include young people's contribution to the practice and hence does not consider how young people develop. With respect to Bronfenbrenner's research, such conceptualisation of the context has reduced it to the circumstances for the development of the relation, or in other words, to a cause-effect relationship rather than the systemic internal relations explaining young people's relation to academic study. The conditions for development provided by Bronfenbrenner's model are important in terms of incorporating context as part of the holistic approach of this research, but alone they are far from sufficient. Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30) which guides the holistic approach in this research, on the other hand, has incorporated the conditions for development that were emphasised by Brofenbrenner (Hedegaard, 2009, 2012a, 2012b).

2.2.3 From a situated perspective

A notable point that sets the situated perspective apart from the contextualist perspective is its conception of the context and the participation of a person in the context to explain the action of engagement, which has moved beyond a cause-effect relationship. The situated perspective views engagement actions as gradually developing as the person moves from being a novice to becoming more involved in the practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Nonetheless, the absence of concrete theoretical tools, such as the motive concept that forms the core of Hedegaard's model, has made this perspective less useful in this research. In particular, the 'openness' of the concepts presented in the two perspectives could

hamper the potential for analysing empirical data and informing the identification of systemic internal relations in order to explain the relation.

In the situated perspective, engagement is conceptualised as engaged participation where learning occurs as individuals participate and become familiar and attuned to the constraints and affordances in the practice (Greeno, 1998). According to Greeno, engagement, from a situated perspective, encompasses both behaviour and cognitive processes. It is dynamic in nature, as children and young people are allowed to keenly observe and 'listen[ing]-in' on what adults are doing, a process which is conceptualised as intent participation (Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chavez & Angelillo, 2003). This first-hand learning process gradually leads to young people's legitimate peripheral participation in society (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and a goal-oriented process (Wedegge, 1999). Through legitimate peripheral participation, over time and through the process of negotiation with multiple communities, a person will be drawn to the centre and become a full participant in the co-construction of the community's practice (Hickey, 2003; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

The concepts of intent participation (Rogoff et. al., 2003) and legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991) consider engagement in practice from the perspective of propagating community practices. This view has considered the dynamics of community practices that draw people from the margins into the centre of the practices over time. It has also taken the context for engagement beyond a cause-effect relationship. Although the two concepts may be extended to explain young people's participation in academic activity as part of activities across the institutional practices, they seem to lack analytical tools that provide conditions for empirical analysis such as that offered by Hedegaard's model through the concepts of motive and developmental age-related orientation and activities.

2.2.4 From the perspective of the concept of habitus

Finally, the concept of habitus offers another perspective for looking into the relation. The relation through this concept is conceptualised as the embodiment of the capital and field (Oliffe, Bottorff, Kelly and Halpin, 2008). This is understood as the social world (Reay, 2004; McNay, 1999) which is constructed through historical context, where circumstances are internalised by the individual (Reay, 2004), and is expressed through and mediates the actions or disposition of the individual (Reay, 2004; Oliffe, et al., 2008; McNay, 1999). Through this process, Bourdieu emphasised that habitus is the means of perpetuating what is in the past and present into the future. It warrants the living of past experiences in the person through “schemes of perception, thought and action” to allow the continuity of practice (Bourdieu, 1990:54).

The interest in having “analytical frameworks arise within the practice” is one of the common grounds between the concept of habitus and the Theory of Activity (Edwards, 2010:7) that this research adopts. However, there is at least one fundamental aspect in which they differ. At the centre of the Theory of Activity is the concept of motive, which according to Chaiklin (2012) is located neither in the person nor in the context external to the person. Discovery of the motive of a person needs to be done through analysis of the essential relation where the person is engaged (ibid). Hedegaard has further suggested analysing the development of a person from three dialectically-related perspectives: the societal/state perspective, the institutional perspective and the individual perspective (Figure 1, page 30).

However, Bourdieu’s (1990) concept of habitus suggests that the structured social world is embodied within the person as past experience that will guide his or her actions. Bourdieu and Waquant (1992) viewed the structured world in which individuals are actively engaged as predefined by broader racial, gender and class relations. In this respect, habitus is seen as the means of analysing the existence of the structured world (Reay, 2004). I concur with Wedege (1999) who claimed that the concept of habitus explains why people act and think the

way they do, but does not reveal how they come to act in such ways. I also agree with Reay (2004) who says that with habitus offering explanation for people's actions, there is a risk of habitus becoming anything that the data reveal, so that anything within the realm of the field can be the explanation for young people's actions in their academic study activity. I further assert that such an open concept as habitus does not give the theoretical tools to analyse the relation that are offered by the concept of motive running through Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30).

2.2.5 Chapter summary

In summary, interest in looking at the relation of young people to academic study (the relation) is shared by different theoretical traditions, which vary in the way the relation is conceptualised. This section has categorised these traditions into four perspectives: behaviourist and cognitivist, contextualist, situated and from the concept of habitus. The discussion has focussed on the different perspectives with a view to strengthening the conceptualisation of the relation in this research, which is through the Theory of Activity and guided by Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30).

From the exploration of the literature, the conception of the relation from the first perspective is reduced to the person's behaviour and cognition, and has minimal regard for the context. Meanwhile, the second perspective, contextualist, has more concern for context as holding the influencing factor on the relations. However, the association of the context and the relation in this perspective is conceptualised as a cause-effect relationship. This kind of association is not in line with the holistic approach that this research employs. The holistic approach calls for a dialectic relation between the person and the context, and situates empirical analysis not in the context but in the practice.

Lastly, the situated and habitus perspectives both conceptualise the relation as existing and developing through the practice. In the former, the relation is

conceptualised as the engaged participation of young people within the practice, which gradually brings them from the periphery to the centre of the practice. In the latter, the relation is conceptualised as the disposition and action that reflect the person's embodiment of the social world (Reay, 2004; McNay, 1999). The two perspectives share common ground with this research in grounding the analysis of the relation in the practice. However, they do not provide comprehensive analytical tools such as the motive concept provided by the Theory of Activity from the cultural historical tradition. Without such a strong pillar concept, the analysis of empirical evidence for the relation will lack clear direction.

In conclusion, as people are always caught between multiple demands in institutional practices, the relation can only be understood and described in relation to young people's relation to other activities across the different practices. The various conceptualisations of this relation in the literature seem to capture the empirical abstraction of the relation. Conception from surface appearances has missed the essential internal relations that are fundamental and necessary to understand young people's relation to academic study. This inadequacy in the existing literature has made it more imperative to investigate the relation from such a perspective. The cultural historical Theory of Activity has offered a comprehensive analytical tool for this investigation, whilst Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30) has guided its holistic approach. The next chapter will lay out the methodology for this investigation.

3. The structure and design of this study

This chapter will elaborate on the structure and design of this study, which is guided by the Research Triangle Model by Chaiklin (2011a) (

Figure 2, page 47). The need for the construction of an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study (the relation) will be asserted. The development of this model serves as the central focus of this study and the answer to the research question. The model is conceptualised through the concept of motive and motive hierarchy. The functional aspect of motive-orientation, sense-making motive and stimulating motive, as advocated by Leontiev (1978), forms the basis of the construction of the motive hierarchy model. The need for empirical abstractions in the development of the model will be presented, leading to the design of the empirical study, which will be described in the next chapter.

The Research Triangle Model by Chaiklin (2011a) is a revised and elaborated version of a former model that appeared in Sievert and Chaiklin (2010). This model is different from a similar-looking model by Maxwell (2012). The latter does not suggest looking at a phenomenon through a theoretical lens, nor does it highlight the dialectic relation between the different entities that make up a piece of empirical research. Compared to Chaiklin's model, the model by Maxwell appears incomplete in that it focuses only on empirical work without investigating the internal essential relations involved in research in order to understand a phenomenon that is always situated in a practice.

The model by Chaiklin puts at the forefront the systemic essential relationships of the different components that research should focus on as a whole, rather than looking at each component as a separate individual entity. One of the main aims of the model is to ensure coherent actions in trying to understand the phenomenon concerned. Each of the lines in the diagram represents an essential internal relation between the respective entities.

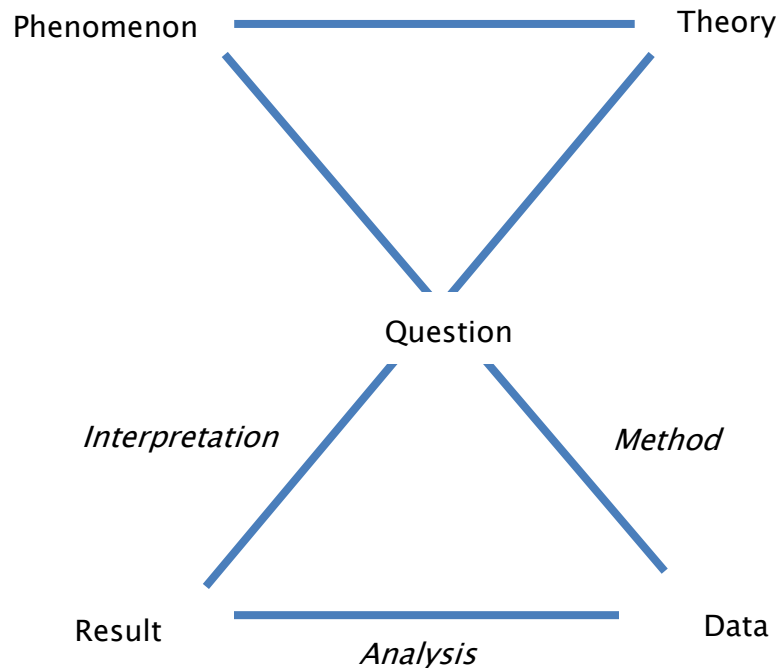


Figure 2: The Research Triangle Model (Chaiklin, 2011a)

There are two halves to the Research Triangle Model. The upper half focuses on understanding the phenomenon via a theoretical lens. Through theoretical understanding of the phenomenon, a research question is constructed, which links the upper to the lower half of the triangle. The research question in this research was formulated as a means of understanding the phenomenon and motivating this research, and it has been the central focus of the structure and design of this research. The lower triangle focuses on the empirical study of the phenomenon, which relates to the methods of acquiring the data, analysis and interpretation of the data to answer the research question.

3.1 The need for a model of the relation

A theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study (the relation) is necessary in this research since this detail is not explored in

Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30). Although Hedegaard's model has laid out the theoretical relation that explains people's participation in different institutional practices, it is not meant to provide the theoretical relations with respect to academic study. As such, there is no offer differentiation of academic study activity from various other activities, from within and across the different institutional practices which young people participate in. I believe that, with such differentiation, the relation can be traced and described in greater detail. The absence of such a model has made it imperative to construct a theoretical model of the essential internal relations in this research, before the relation of young people to academic study can be described. The model will be an empirically-grounded theoretical model, as it will be strongly supported and substantiated through empirical evidence and theoretical relations. Such a model will be robust and reliable in explaining young people's relation to academic study. The model of the relation of young people to academic study, from this point onwards, will be referred to as the 'model of the relation'.

3.2 Conceptualising the theoretical model of the relation

In the conceptualisation of the model of the relation, Hedegaard's model (Figure 1 on page 30), which emphasises a holistic approach to studying young people's relation to the practices, is used as a guide to the dialectic relation between the three perspectives in societal practice. Through these three perspectives, the concept of motive is described. The individual perspective of the motive is emphasised and elaborated on further through the concept of internal position by Bozhovich and motive hierarchy by Leontiev. The concept of motive hierarchy has been chosen as the differentiation it provides links better with empirical abstraction in the empirical study in order to explain different actions of young people towards their academic study.

A theoretical model is not a summary of empirical appearance, but keeps just the fundamental relation that explains a phenomenon (Davydov, 1990). In the construction of a theoretical model, Davydov differentiates theoretical abstraction

from empirical abstraction. This type of model, according to him, preserves the essential internal relations that generate a phenomenon in its systemic nature. Hedegaard (1995:300) emphasised that models should portray 'the basic relations in the subject area or problem area studied so that if one aspect changes, the influence of this change can be traced in the other aspects'.

This kind of theoretical model is different from the theoretical model introduced by Haig (2005), which was concerned with developing theories to explain the empirically-identified phenomenon. In the 'abductive theory of method' (ATOM), the theoretical model is constructed based on the few causal factors that explain the detected phenomenon (ibid). I would assert that the theoretical model that this research is developing seeks to explain the phenomenon through empirically-justified theoretical relations. In this research, the model will be developed dialectically from theoretical concepts and empirical analysis of the data. Through the theoretical model, the phenomenon will be analysed and described. This is different from Haig's (2005) model, which focuses on an analogical model of the causal mechanism to explain the phenomenon.

With respect to the model of the relation in this research, the theoretical relation is derived from the concept of motive in the societal practice from the Theory of Activity. Motive, according to Leontiev (1978), is the object, either material or psychological, which satisfies the needs of a subject and arouses and directs activity. In this research, the motive is differentiated into the societal motive, objective-motive and motive-orientation to allow for analysis that distinguishes motives in the societal/state perspective, institutional perspective and individual person's perspective, respectively, in correspondence with Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30). This differentiation is to allow orientation towards the same motive to be traced from the different perspectives using Hedegaard's model.

Leontiev (1978) said that through the historical development of a society, the society is oriented towards objects that satisfy its needs, with these objects being its motive. This means that the object that a society is oriented towards to satisfy its needs is its motive, the societal motive. As an example, analysis of the Brunei

Darussalam state shows that one of its societal motives is the diversification of its economy, to satisfy the needs for the country to thrive and to liberate itself from dependency on oil and gas production as its main income. A more detailed analysis of the societal motive of the country can be found in sub-section 5.1 on page 126 where the societal motives that concern this study are discussed and presented.

Just as Leontiev (1978) states that motive arouses and directs activity, the societal motives prompted and drew the different institutional practices and respective activities towards them. Among the different shared national objects at the societal/state level are shared demands for its entire people (Hedegaard, 2005). In response to the demands, different institutional practices such as the school institution and family institution develop objective-motives in orientation to the societal motives. The objective-motives motivate the different activities in the respective institutional practices, and continue to exert the societal demands onto the people who participate in the practices. Across and within each institutional practice, the multiple objective-motives lead to the creation of multiple demands on participants in the practices. Through these processes, the institutional practices mediate between the societal perspective and the individual perspective.

At the individual level, a person develops a personal sense in relation to the objective-motive, which Hedegaard (2012a) terms the motive-orientation. According to her, the term motive-orientation is used to make explicit the conceptualisation of motive by Leontiev, which is the relation between a person and an object. There seem to be two perspectives that elaborate on the concept of motive-orientation: internal position by Bozhovich (2009) and the motive hierarchy by Leontiev (1978).

Bozhovich's concept of internal position emphasises that a person's position in the societal practices evolves with the development of the person in the practices. The concept of internal position explains the evolution of the position as something that is situated in the past, yet relates dynamically to the present and future of the person:

Internal position is formed based on how children – as determined by their preceding experience, their opportunities, the need and impulses that emerged in them in the past – feel about the objective position that they occupy in life at the present moment and the position they want to occupy.

(Bozhovich, 2009:81)

Bozhovich 's concept of internal position seems to capture the whole web of relations that form the person, as the person develops through participating in the practices within the society. Through Bozhovich's conceptualisation of internal position, the assimilation of the societal motives and the societal value system is emphasised, and the person's position in the society is distinguished. In my opinion, Bozhovich's concept of internal position gives a broader view of the relation of a person to the practices in the society, as it explicitly defines a person from his past experiences, situated in his current relation to the practice, and with respect to his or her aims/goals for the future. This is useful in situating and supporting the development of the theoretical framework of this study in terms of framing the relation throughout the development of the person. Nonetheless, the concept of internal position does not seem to provide enough differentiation to describe the relation of a person to the societal practice, which Leontiev provides through the concept of motive hierarchy. The concept of motive hierarchy could be developed into a comprehensive tool to explain a person's choice of one activity over another, within the multiple demands that exist within and across the institutional practices.

The concept of motive hierarchy from Leontiev (1978) refers to the relational organisation of sense-making motives and stimulating motives:

These (hierarchical) relationships are determined by the connections that the activity of the subject brings about, by their mediations, and for this reason, they are relative. This refers also to the principal correlation – to the correlation between sense-forming motives and stimulating motive. In the structure of one activity a given motive may

fulfil the function of sense formation, in another, the function of supplementary stimulation. Sense-forming motives, however, always occupy a higher hierarchical place (...)

(Leontiev, 1978: Chapter 5.4)

From Leontiev's description above of the concept of motive hierarchy, the motive-orientations for a person are of different importance to the person, which is subjected to the function of the motive-orientation, either it is of stimulating motive or sense-making motive. The importance of the motive-orientation refers to the relation of the person to the objective-motive and the respective activities. With stimulating motive, the objective-motive that the person is oriented to is still in the social domain and not yet emotionally connected to the person (Leontiev, 1978). In fact, the objective-motive is already there in the practice even before the individual participates in the practice (ibid). An objective-motive that is of stimulating motive for a person may be meaningful for the practice but it might not be emotionally meaningful for the person. On the other hand, when a person develops an emotional connection to an activity, it is most likely that the objective-motive that aroused the particular activity is a sense-making motive for the person, according to Leontiev (1978). In this case, the objective-motive and the related activity are emotionally meaningful for the person.

In the institutional practices, demands are present through activities and through the actions of the people in the activity. If the motive that arouses the activities and its demands is sense-making motive to the person, his motive-orientation is most likely to be in harmony with the objective-motive of the activity. However, if the objective-motive is of stimulating motive to the person, then the demand from the activity is in conflict with his motive-orientation. However, the objective-motive for the person ranges between a sense-making motive and stimulating motive. From my experience, I am assuming that a sense-making motive would result in a relation with stronger motivational force for the person. This is from the perspective that a sense-making motive would be relatively more important for the person and would generate motivation for the person to pursue it.

The motive hierarchy is composed of motive-orientations that are relational in their relationship. A sense-making motive-orientation would have relatively higher priority than that of stimulating motive motive-orientation for a person. My assumption is that the relation of young people to academic study is the position that academic study occupies in the motive hierarchy of the person. Theoretically, academic study can be the object that the motive is oriented towards. However, my empirical data do not yet show evidence to support this assumption. Nonetheless, within the scope of this study, academic study is seen as a goal that subordinates one or more motive-orientations. The importance of academic study to the person depends on the function of the motive-orientation, i.e. whether it is sense-making motive or stimulating motive.

A person may not be aware of his or her own motive-orientation, although it arouses and directs the person's activity (Leontiev, 1978). This is supported by Hedegaard (2012a), who shows that motive-orientation can be detected indirectly from a person's intentional activities and wishes. This is the point where the empirical data and its abstraction will support the identification of theoretical relations in the construction of the model of motive hierarchy. Empirical abstractions are termed as ready-made abstraction by Davydov (1990) and refer to the surface appearance of a phenomenon. Empirical analysis is the analysis of these surface appearances that aims for empirical abstractions. These surface characteristics, according to Davydov (1990), are those that appear both through the senses as well as in the thoughts of the researcher. The empirical abstractions also include those appearances that are not observable, but are found on the basis of deduction (Davydov, 1999). These can be recognised from their similarities and differences, and can be categorised accordingly. Through empirical abstraction, the systemic theoretical relations will be drawn and represented in the form of a theoretical model, which in this case will be the theoretical model of the motive hierarchy that explains the relation of young people to academic study.

3.3 The need for empirical data on the everyday lived experiences of young people

In relation to the aim of this study, which is to produce an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study (the model of the relation), this section will discuss the empirical data that is needed to construct a model of the relation, in the context of Brunei Darussalam. Specifically, data is needed about the everyday lived experiences of young people, including the conflicts they encounter and the way in which they resolve these conflicts.

As mentioned in sub-section 2.1 on page 28, a holistic approach guided by Hedegaard's model (Figure 1

Figure 1, page 30) has been adopted for this study. From Hedegaard's model, we see that the participation of a person in an activity is not a matter of choice, but rather occurs because the person is born into and always caught between the demands of the different activities in the societal practice. It is assumed in this research that a person's relation to academic study is developed through participation across the different institutional practices. As such, the relation of young people to academic study (the relation) has to be analysed from young people's everyday lived experiences in the practices. Specifically, this study needs to access young people's everyday lived experiences in terms of conflict and conflict resolution with respect to academic study, as emerging from contradictions in and across the institutional practices.

Contradiction is conceptualised as deeply rooted in, and culturally and historically developed from, the systemic make-up of the societal practice (Edward, 2010; Leontiev, 1978). These contradictions, with or without young people participating in them, often arise in the societal practice (Leontiev, 1978). From a dialectic logic, contradictions are mutual opposites (Ilyenkov, 2008) and it is through these contradictions that the essential internal relations can be traced (Davydov, 1990). Davydov added further that the essential internal relations are the theoretical concepts that can bring together things that are 'dissimilar, different, multifaceted and not coincident'. This approach is different from those who are working at the

empirical level, where dissimilar things are put into different categories or even cast out as outliers.

As a person is always acting in institutional practices (Leontiev, 1978), he or she is constantly dealing with contradictions, which are assumed to result in conflicts. Conflicts are generated when the person deals with the contradictions in the institutional practices. They are generally identifiable empirically. Conflict, in the Oxford English Dictionary (2006), is defined as 'the opposition, in an individual, of incompatible wishes or needs of approximately equal strength; also, the distressing emotional state resulting from such opposition'. This definition will be used as one of the guides to identifying the presence of conflict in the young people participating in this research.

Based on the Research Triangle Model (see Figure 2, page 47), in order to respond to the research questions, an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people and academic study needs to be constructed. The model of the relation will depict the motive hierarchy of the young person, which describes his or her relation to academic study. For the purpose of construction of the model, there will be a double visit to the data. The first visit is to understand the demand experienced by the six of the 13 young people in this study (see sub-section 4.4.1 from page 66 for the selection of the young people in this research). This will be achieved by analysing the young people's everyday experiences of various contradicting demands in the practices, as well as their own counter-demand towards the practices. The analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

The second visit to the data is to analyse the young people's actions in resolving the conflicts that they face every day. Leontiev (1978) advocated that people's actions are aroused by, and in the direction of, their motive-orientation. Based on this assertion, it is believed that young people's motive-orientation can be identified through analysing the actions in which young people resolve conflicts in their everyday participation across the practices. A flowchart is constructed as a tool to aid these analyses, as shown in Figure 21 on page 119. Through the flowchart, not only will actions of resolving conflict be identified, but the motive–

orientations and motive hierarchy will also be interpreted. Through these inferences, a common empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation, the Model of Motive Hierarchy is drawn. The model explains the relation of young people to academic study. Through the model, the relation to academic study of each of the four students who were selected for detailed analysis is described, giving the answer to the research sub-question and the main research question (see Chapter 6).

4. Design of the empirical study – a methodological consideration

The previous chapter has identified the empirical data needed for this study. The data needed are essentially young people's everyday lived experiences in and across the practices, in particular their experience of conflict and conflict resolution, with respect to academic study activity. This chapter will present the design of the empirical study leading towards the construction of an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study.

The empirical study of this research was constructed with the aim to support the development of a theoretical model of the theoretical relations, a Model of Motive Hierarchy, that explain the relation of young people and academic study. This is done through understanding the multiple demands that they are facing in their everyday lives across institutional practices. This approach is informed by the concept of phenomenology due to its common interest in the lived experiences of people. The empirical study is based on a semi-participatory research design that intertwines both participatory and non-participatory research components, as can be seen summarised in Figure 3, on page 61. A pilot study was conducted and has informed the main study in terms of its design as well as the themes and techniques that drew the interest of the young people involved.

In the main study, young people in Year 11 and Year 13, around the age of 15-18 years old, were selected as Student Researchers (SRs). The data collection spanned a period of one month, which started and ended with three days of pre-research training at the beginning and post-research training at the end of the period respectively. During the pre-research training session, the SRs were trained to conduct focus group discussions (FGD) and as part of the training, they conducted a self-facilitated FGD as an exercise with the help of a pre-prepared semi-structured questionnaire. The main purpose of the FGD was to collect the required data from the SRs through a very informal guided conversation, as well as training them to conduct a FGD so they could proceed with their own data collection. The FGDs were recorded and used as data for this study. Data were

also collected through *MyAlbum*, which is an annotated photo album that the SRs had to produce. This data collection tool involved the SRs taking photographs on a disposable camera, before pasting and annotating the pictures in a booklet. Another useful tool for data collection that emerged through discussion with the SRs was *MyQuestionnaire*. This is a compilation of questions from the SRs that they thought were important to ask in order to find out about their relation to academic study. The compiled questions were given back to the SRs for them to answer.

This chapter also provides an account of the questions, ‘problem statements’ and assignments across the different methods. These developed from the need to find out about the conflict experienced by the SRs in relation to academic study in their everyday lives, and how they resolved this. This research has adhered to stringent ethical guidelines on top of committing to permanent protection of participants’ identities.

4.1 A phenomenologically-informed empirical study design

A study of lived experiences resonates with the phenomenological research approach, as according to Van Manen (1990), phenomenology is an exploration of the ‘essence’ of lived experiences. In phenomenology, the ‘essence’ is what makes a phenomenon what it is, without which the phenomenon cannot exist (ibid). With respect to this research, the ‘essence’ in phenomenological research seems to resemble the essential internal relationships that were introduced by Davydov (1990), whose ideas are adopted in this research.

However, the essential internal relationships refer to a systemic and fundamental theoretical concept which generates the structure of the phenomenon as a whole. A theoretical concept, according to Davydov, should bring contradicting aspects of a phenomenon together. The internal essential relationships need to be understood in order to be able to control and reproduce the phenomenon (per. comm. Chaiklin, 23 April, 2013). However, phenomenology focuses on arriving at

meaning from lived experiences (Dowling, 2007; Osborne, 1994). There is no clear indication in the literature that the 'essence' in phenomenological research refers to the theoretical concepts, or the internal essential relationships, that Davydov (1990) was referring to. Indeed, Davydov (1990) continues to differentiate further that not all relationships are significant in the reproduction of the concrete, but only the essential ones which keep the essence of the matter; there is no such distinction in phenomenological research.

Another point that sets this research apart from phenomenological research is the process of bracketing and phenomenological reduction that purposely remove any theoretical influence and presuppositions in arriving at the 'essence' of the phenomenon (Osborne, 1994; Dowling, 2007). Contrastingly, the crux of this research approach is indeed looking to describe the phenomenon of young people's relation to academic study through a theoretical lens, i.e. the concept of motive and motive hierarchy from the Theory of Activity. The two points above have shown the fundamental differences between the approach in this study and in phenomenological research. Nonetheless, some of the techniques in phenomenology have informed the empirical design of this research and will be referred to in this thesis.

4.2 Semi-participatory research design

The need for data on young people's lived everyday experiences with respect to conflicts and conflict resolution calls for a strategy that can access their everyday lives from the first-person perspective. This research uses a semi-participatory research strategy which combines participatory and non-participatory research components. This section starts by describing the semi-participatory research approach, a pilot study that was conducted prior to the development of the different research instruments and the selection and training of the Student Researchers (SRs).

The participatory component of this research involves the research participants as co-researchers, assisting in the development of research instruments, themes/questions for collecting data and ideas for approaching young people like them. This collaboration is invaluable for an empirical study since young people are a part of the phenomenon that this research is studying. According to Alderson (2001), in this form of collaboration with young people, the role of young people moves beyond their traditional role as research subjects to them being more involved with the research. Alderson distinguished this kind of collaboration, where the main researcher still holds authority over the research, from those types of participatory research which are mainly initiated and directed by young people themselves.

Participatory research, according to Fine and Torre (2006), has the power to access hidden stories and counter stories, experiences that reside within complex social arrangements. For instance, it has been employed to explore the unspoken stories and lives of women in a high-security prison in New York (Fine, Torre, Boudin, Bowen, Clark, Hylton, Martinez, Missy, Roberts, Smart, and Upegui, 2003). In her research, Fine invited the inmates to team up with her graduate students in the research process. Another example of the use of participatory research is the evaluative research on the experience of Girls Incorporated® as they worked with girls in the Girl Study Girl Inc. (Chen & Weiss, 2010). In contrast to both Fine and Torre (2006) and Chen and Weiss (2010), who have extended their approach into participatory action research, this research has exploited the idea of a participatory research approach but not the cyclic action component of their research, as there is no need for one.

The SRs were given the responsibility of conducting their own research and describing their friends' relation to academic study through a semi-structured focus group discussion as the set tool. The SRs were also instructed, in pairs, to conduct a focus group with a set of participants from among their own circle of friends. However, due to the limited scope of this PhD research, the data obtained from the SRs' own FGDs have not been included here but kept for future analysis beyond this PhD study.

On the other hand, the non-participatory component of this research involves the same SRs taking the role of research participants. Within this role, they participated in the *MyAlbum* activity, pre- and post- FGDs and responded to the *MyQuestionnaire*. These data collection tools will be discussed in further detail in sub-section 4.4.3 from page 72. The aim of this non-participatory component was to collect data about the young people (the SRs') everyday experiences with respect to academic study, within and across the different institutional practices. Nonetheless, although there is a clear segregation of the roles of the SRs, as co-researchers as well as participants in this research, their individual and collective contributions from both roles were analysed together. The segregation of the roles is represented diagrammatically in Figure 3.

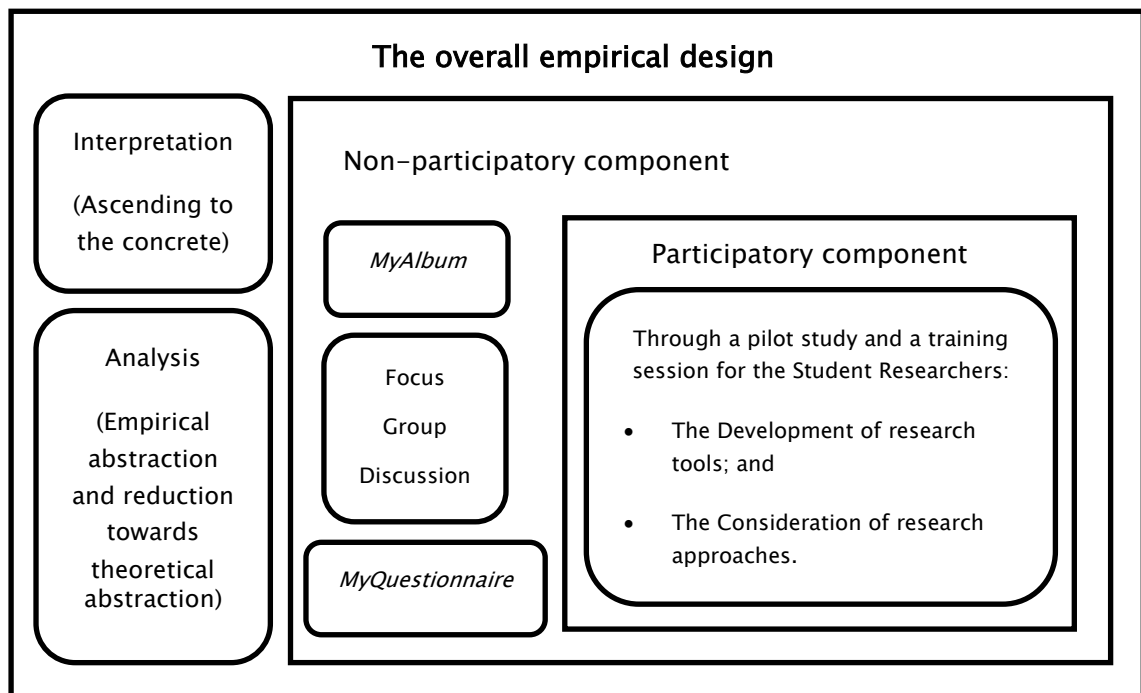


Figure 3: A diagrammatic summary of the semi-participatory research design of this research.

The advantages of employing the young people as Student Researchers, holding two roles in this research, researcher and participant, is to probe them to think from the perspective of a researcher. I believed that this role would place them in my shoe and they would empathise and provide the kind and depth of data that I

needed. In relation to the analysis for motive-orientation and motive hierarchy, the deeper the information on the conflict that they experience and their respective conflict resolutions, the more it would benefit this research. By having the young people thinking with the same researcher's hat as me, and at the same time providing me data and information from their perspective as participants, this approach has proven to be effective.

With respect to activity settings in researching children's everyday lives, Hedegaard (2008, 2012a) asserted the importance of looking at and following young people through different activity settings. An activity setting is a space where the action of a person and the demand on the person meet in practice. However, due to the time limitation in this research, a longitudinal approach following young people was not feasible in practice. Furthermore, the activities of young people in adolescence, let alone late adolescence, have expanded to more activity settings and are not just limited to a few like that of younger children. The activity of young people during late adolescence, as suggested by Elkonin (1972), may have indeed expanded to include more activity connected to social relations and future orientation.

With the expansion of young people's activity in late adolescence, the activity settings that they participate in cannot be fully anticipated. Instead of predetermining which activity settings to analyse, this research emphasised the SRs' role in revealing the different activity settings which were important and meaningful to them. They were asked specifically to share different anecdotes in their everyday lives across different activity settings and across different institutional practices that could represent and show their relation to academic study. This approach is consistent across the different data collection tools used in this study. A pilot study was designed to emphasise the SRs' opinions and perspectives for means and approaches to accessing other young people in their age group. The approach of this research and its design were to some extent informed by the pilot study.

The need for data on young people's lived experiences with respect to academic study has formed the basis of the construction of the research instruments in this

research, which include focus group discussions, *MyAlbum* and *MyQuestionnaire*.

4.3 The pilot study

One Pilot Focus Group Discussion (PilotFGD) was carried out with four pilot participants located in Brunei Darussalam, chaired by me from the United Kingdom over Skype. It lasted less than two hours. Rather than testing the research instruments, which is the conventional purpose of a pilot study, especially within quantitative research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000), the main purpose of the pilot study in this research was to get an idea of how to approach young people of similar age to the pilot participants in Brunei. It was insisted in the PilotFGD that the discussion was meant to draw on topics or themes around which young people's relation to academic study could be elicited. The discussion also touched on the different ways of approaching young people to recreate everyday conversations particularly in relation to the conflict and conflict resolution that they experienced with academic study. The effort to recreate 'everyday conversation' was meant to stimulate the casual and friendly conversations that normally take place when friends meet (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984 & 1987). It was hoped that creating this ambience would allow young people to respond in the most natural and genuine way possible, giving the research insight into young people's relation to academic study from their own perspectives.

Included in the PilotFGD was an annotated drawing activity, where the pilot participants were asked to draw or sketch a figure to represent their relation to academic study. After the PilotFGD, each of the pilot participants was asked to investigate the other pilot participants' relation to academic study, describing the method they employed and their reason for doing so. Their description of the other pilot participants' relation to academic study was compiled and analysed in the Pilot Participant's Report (PilotPR).

Overall, the pilot study informed the design of this research in two main ways: by highlighting themes that could provoke young people's interest in discussing their experience of academic study, and testing techniques for approaching young people. In fact, the spirit of trying to find themes that could provoke deep discussions about conflicts and conflict resolution among young people with respect to academic study did not stop at the pilot study. This continued into the main study, with the successful creation of *MyQuestionnaire*, an instrument which will be discussed in detail in the following sub-section 4.4.3.3 on page 85.

Discussion with the pilot participants revealed that 'test and examinations marks' and 'concentration in class' were 'hot' topics to provoke conversation about academic study. Questions about 'how they went through difficult times' with respect to their academic study, and 'what makes them want to study' also seemed to draw rich accounts from the pilot participants. Other themes including 'significant others', 'indebtedness to parents', and 'future-oriented aim' by achieving a good academic profile also emerged from the discussion. These themes were adopted and considered in the semi-structured questions prepared for the FGD in the main study. Details of the questions used in the FGD will be discussed in sub-sections 4.4.4 from page 88.

Competitiveness also emerged as a possible obstacle to reaching young people during the PilotFGD. The pilot participants commented that sometimes it is not the 'insufficiency' of questions that prevent young people from sharing their academic study experiences, rather the competitiveness amongst them to do well in their academic study that prevents them sharing their study 'secrets'. This attitude seems to be synonymous with the phenomenon of 'kiasu', a word from a Chinese dialect which literally translates as 'the fear of losing out'. Kiasu was coined in Singapore, a country neighbouring Brunei Darussalam, and underlies the attitude of its people towards work, education and other aspects of their lives (Ho, Ang, Loh & Ng, 1998). Although, in my opinion, the people in Brunei may not yet be comparable to Singaporeans in displaying the Kiasu behaviour as described by Ho et al. (1998), there is some apparent empirical evidence of people displaying the Kiasu phenomenon, such as not wanting to share the 'secret' of their study or their study techniques. The identification of this Kiasu

phenomenon and its positive and negative impact on this research is discussed in sub-section 4.4.1 on page 66. Further, the negative impact is discussed in sub-section 4.4.3.1.2 on page 76.

Essentially, the findings from the pilot study, from the PilotFGD, PilotPR and the annotated drawing activity have been incorporated into the methodological design of the main study and will be cited accordingly in this report.

4.4 The main study

This research is interested in the lived experiences of young people in Brunei Darussalam, particularly the conflicts and conflict resolution that they face every day, with respect to academic study.

The research aims to collect data about young people's everyday experience of demands in the practices particularly with respect to academic study, conflict and conflict resolution. The basic principle that underlies the strategy chosen for data collection is the importance of encouraging young people to open up about their experiences as genuinely as possible. As mentioned earlier, this study uses a semi-participatory research approach, where the selected participants took the role of both research participants and Student Researchers. With the training given, the SRs conducted research on their peers' relation to academic study. During the training, data were also collected on the SRs. Three methods of data collection were employed: focus group discussion (FGD), *MyAlbum* and *MyQuestionnaire*. These methods and the data collected through them are summarised in Figure 3 on page 61.

From my own experience as a teacher, I believe that young people who are sitting public examinations that year may experience more conflicts than those who are not, and would therefore be the best candidates to participate in this research. According to the phenomenological approach to collecting lived experiences, there is no restriction on the method used, as lived experiences can be represented by many means (Sadala and Adorno, 2002). This 'freedom' has opened many possibilities and combinations in terms of selecting and designing the empirical study, including the methods for collecting data. However, despite the 'freedom' in the collection of lived experiences as informed by phenomenology, practical considerations of the participants' existing roles and responsibilities with respect to the demands in their respective practices are necessary, not only to accommodate the young people in this research, but as a part of the research's ethical commitment. The balance between including young people, who are going to sit examinations as participants in this research, and the need to consider their own interest in preparing for their examinations, was one of the considerations for the design of the empirical study.

4.4.1 Selection of Student Researchers (SRs)

A total of 13 young people in Brunei between the ages of 15-18 years old were recruited as Student Researchers (SRs) for this research (Appendix 2). Among them were Farah, Hani and Sarah who also participated in the earlier pilot study. As part of the effort to elicit natural friendship conversation, the selection of Student Researchers (SRs) was done using a snowballing technique. A snowball sampling technique starts with the identification of a few individuals who satisfy the required conditions for the research. They then source out more people from their own social circle to participate in the research (Cohen et al., 2000). A couple of young people who were known to me, as family friends, were

selected as participants/Student Researchers (SR), before they went on further to recruit from among their friends.

The successful recruitment of the SRs in this research is partly attributed to the help of the young family friends, who immediately agreed to help in this research as participants and recruit their friends too. Agreement to participate was also partly due to the acknowledgement letter and experience that was offered. The SRs agreement to participate in this research however has not reassured their willingness to contribute to this research, as some of them offered data that were superficial. During the data collection period, I had reassured them of the trust that we have built over the years, the benefits of this research to young people in general and the experience that they would gain. I also insisted on building rapport with them at the beginning of the period, and worked to reduce the power relation by not projecting myself as a teacher figure to them.

Since most of the SRs were quite comfortable with me as the researcher, they openly shared their experiences as required by this study. I also contacted some of them after the research to clarify some data, and particularly asked one of them, Farah, to add to her MyAlbum. One of her MyAlbum pages can be seen in Figure 69 on page 205, and notice the smaller and more detailed writings on top of the page compared to the other simple expressions with large writing. They also tended to share lots of emotion especially with respect to things that were intimate to them. For instance, they used this research as a venue to air their prolonged grievances towards their friends and teachers that they could not do anything about. This condition offered me with good opportunities to explore their deeper thoughts and orientations further. Nonetheless, as I happened to know a bit more about their family backgrounds than what they shared with me in this research, I have had to block the information from being used and analysed in this research. This is part of the ethical commitment that I pledged to hold.

Of the 13 SRs, not all of them were chosen for detailed analysis in this research. It was decided after a few initial trials of analysing the data that having two different developmental age groups of SRs is complicated and might not fit into the timeframe for this PhD project. This was especially felt as I was moved into

greater depth to analyse the multiple demands and actions of conflict resolution to draw on the essential internal relations, with respect to academic study. The eight SRs chosen were those who were sitting their GCE A level instead of the other five, who were sitting their GCE O Level. It was assumed that the former would be older in their chronological and developmental age. In accordance with Elkonin's (1972) model, young people at this age would have a dominant futuristic career-oriented motive-orientation which is different from younger people who would have intimate personal relations as their dominant motive-orientation. So the decision to drop the five SRs was meant to focus this research on young people within a potentially common developmental age. In addition, having the young people all taking GCE A Level and in the same school gave me the advantage of them sharing common activities in the school institutional practice for deeper analysis. Nonetheless, although the five SRs were dropped, their participation in the various focus group discussions and MyQuestionnaire activities was retained so as to preserve the context of the data to be analysed.

However, from the eight SRs, two of them were dropped further from detailed discussion, as can be seen in Appendix 2. The basis of choosing the SRs for detailed discussion was the activities and traditions of practice in which they were participating, as well as the quality of the data provided. Rich and useful data are those that elaborate not only multiple activities, but also the conflicting demands from the different activities across institutional practices. This should also be accompanied by sharing the actions of conflict resolution along with rich descriptions of the associated experience and emotion respectively. An example of less useful My Album data that were provided by Suzy can be seen in Figure 6 on page 83 and Focus Group Discussion Data in Figure 28 on page 147. The selection of the SRs for detailed analysis considered all these dimensions in order for the motive-orientation of the young people to be inferred.

The snowballing sampling technique has indeed given this research at least three advantages. The first of these is in overcoming the Kiasu attitude identified during the pilot study, where the approach might have been seen as competitive and

threatening to the young people (see sub-section 4.3, page 63). According to the participants in the pilot study, a friendly and non-threatening situation may be a better approach to reach young people of their age. In such an environment, according to them, young people of their age may be more willing to share information with respect to their academic study 'secret'.

Second, the snowballing sampling technique managed to sustain high enthusiasm among the SRs during the research data collection period. Through the snowballing sampling technique, the SRs gathered were comprised of friends, groups of young people with existing friendships. Within such a group, the existing closeness, the build-up of trust and even the context for daily friendship conversation is 'borrowed' and brought into the research. Having a group of SRs from the same circle of friends or even best friends and their keenness to explore each other's relation to academic study was also an advantage to this research. Again, the enthusiasm among friends to know each other's relation to academic study was shown by one of the pilot study participants, Farah, in her Pilot Participant's Report (PilotPR) (Figure 4, page 69). On further reflection, perhaps this enthusiasm could be part of the Kiasu attitude, but within this research, the attitude has served as an advantage.

'During this investigation, I did not know what exact answer I needed and I wasn't sure whether she was giving the true answer or not. So I tried my best by persuading her to give her answer honestly. If the answer was not a satisfactory answer for me, I could interview her individually and try my best so that she would reveal the secret'.

Figure 4: PilotPR – Farah describing her quest for a genuine answer from Joyce to reveal her study secret ¹

¹ All extracts from the data and tools used that are presented in this thesis have been corrected for their spelling and grammar, and in all cases, caution has been taken to preserve the original intended meaning. This is to ensure that the data are accessible to readers.

Third, the snowballing technique assisted in the recruitment of young people who, at least in the context of Brunei Darussalam, are normally not easily accessible to researchers. There were two groups of young people recruited as SRs, one comprised of those who were going to sit their GCE O Level (General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level), and another their GCE A Level (General Certificate of Education Advanced Level). Generally it is difficult to recruit young people who are going to sit high-stake examinations directly from their school. However, through the snowballing technique, the young people may have agreed to join this research because of their friends. Indeed, participating in this research may even have been seen by them as another friendship activity (sub-section 5.4.3 on page 195) that appealed to them. The return that this research offered them, namely the experience of participating in research as well as a letter of acknowledgement from the University of Bath may also have helped to convince them. Both of these offers could be of interest to them in relation to their developmental age-related leading motive, which is of futuristic orientation (Elkonin, 1999), as has been discussed in sub-section 4.2 on page 59 and sub-section 4.4.1 on page 66.

However, the main disadvantage, in my opinion, of the snowballing sampling technique is the risk of having a sample of young people with similar attitudes towards academic study. However, these attitudes are just the observable empirical appearances of the phenomenon, whereas this study is interested in analysing the underlying essential internal relationships between the young people and academic study which explain the empirical appearance of their attitudes. Indeed, through the sampling technique, I have managed to gather a unique combination of circles of friends of different levels of intimacy, from best friend relationships to just school peers. This was anticipated from the design of this research.

4.4.2 The data collection period

As informed by the pilot study, my knowledge of the importance of examinations to young people has been incorporated into this research design. As a measure

to reduce the potential impact of this research on the SRs' preparation for their examinations, the whole data collection was set over a period of a month, between 23rd March 2011 and 24th April 2011. This data collection period was divided into three phases: the pre-research training session, the Student Researchers' (SRs) data collection phase and the post-research training session.

The pre-research training session was a period of three days coinciding with the first term's school holiday in Brunei Darussalam, to allow the SRs to give their full attention to the training session. This session was meant to prepare the SRs for their roles both as Student Researchers and as participants in this research. Details of the itinerary for the three-day training can be seen in Appendix 3. During the session, the SRs were introduced to this research and their corresponding roles within it. They were also taught about doing research in education, including quantitative and qualitative research approaches, formation of research questions, sampling and methods for data collection. The content of the presentation and tasks given to the SRs during the session can be seen in Appendices 4, 5 and 6. The method of data collection that the SRs explored in detail was focus group discussion (FGD), as this was the method that they used to collect data for their own research. As an exercise, they were divided into two groups to practise conducting focus group discussions with a set of prepared questions (Appendix 7). The FGD exercises were recorded and taken as data for this research, and labelled as Pre-research Focus Group Discussion (PreFGD).

Enthusiasm to collect the intimate everyday lived experiences with respect to academic study was high from the pilot study through to the main study period. This enthusiasm enabled many methods (in addition to the pre-planned methods, focus group discussions and *MyAlbum*) to be trialled during the pre-research training session to gather the SRs' experiences. These are summarised in Appendices 4 and 8. One of the most successful methods tried was *MyQuestionnaire*, which will be discussed in sub-section 4.4.3.3 on page 85. In addition, the planned tool *MyAlbum* was also assigned to the SRs during the pre-research training session, and this will be discussed in sub-section 4.4.3.2 on page 79.

During the data collection stage, the SRs completed two activities: their own research and the *MyAlbum* activity. For their own research, the SRs were assigned the task of conducting focus group discussions with their own selected participants from among their friends, in their school. They were required to analyse and describe their friends' relation to academic study and to report their findings during the post-research training session in the form of a PowerPoint presentation. Assigning the SRs the task of conducting their own research among their friends served the intention of this research approach, which is to collect as close to natural conversations as possible among peers and friends, with a focus on academic study. The SRs' respective FGDs with their friends were guided by the prepared questions, similar to those that the SRs had practised during their mock PreFGD session. Unfortunately, due to the time constraint during this PhD period, the research by the SRs among their friends has not been analysed and presented, but is reserved for further analysis at a later date.

In addition, during the three-day post-research training session which took place at the end of the data collection period, the SRs finalised their research report presentations. The itinerary for the post-research training session can be seen in Appendix 3. Another FGD was conducted during the session. This was recorded as data of this research, and labelled as post-research Focus Group Discussion (PostFGD). As a reflection on the PostFGD, the data collected from it were not much different from the PreFGD, apart from more elaboration of their experience. They do however share more comments and insight in the discussion based on their experience with their own research participants. All other data from the SRs, including their respective FGDs with their participants, their research report PowerPoint slides, and their respective *MyAlbum* were collected during the session.

4.4.3 The methods of data collection

The following sub-section will elaborate further on each of the data collection methods used: Pre- and Post-Focus Group Discussions, *MyAlbum* and

MyQuestionnaire. The main premise that anchored the data collection across the three data collection methods was to access the demands, conflicts and conflict resolution that the young people experience in their everyday lives in relation to academic study activity. This idea can be seen consistently embodied not only across the different methods of data collection, but also the entire empirical design of this research.

4.4.3.1 The Pre- and Post- Focus Group Discussions (PreFGD and PostFGD)

Focus group discussion (FGD) is one of the two pre-planned methods for data collection in this research. As mentioned earlier, there were two FGD sessions, one done during the pre-research training session (PreFGD) and the other one done during the post-research session (PostFGD). In relation to collecting data about young people's conflicts and conflict resolution in their everyday lives, the FGD was designed to mimic closely the conditions for young people's everyday conversation. It is believed that a close reproduction of the conditions for daily conversation elicits richer retrospective accounts from young people of their everyday lives. This was done through setting up the FGD to be facilitated by the SRs themselves, as if it were just another corridor conversation among them.

The self-facilitated FGD was possible because of many factors considered in its setting and setup. The one and a half day training session and practice FGD exercise before the SRs were allowed to start their research equipped them with the necessary skills and understanding to conduct a FGD. A prepared set of semi-structured guiding questions was used in guiding and maintaining the semi-structured-ness of the FGD. The SRs were told that they should use the prepared questions as a guide, yet they could choose to explore in more depth any particular topic or bring extra topics into the discussion if they found it interesting and useful to understand young people's relation to their academic study. Generally, the prepared questions for the FGD translate the main theme in this data collection, which is "what is the relation between the young people and

academic study?” To help the SRs if they did decide to explore certain topics further, they were introduced to the idea of impromptu questioning (Appendix 5, slide 15), during the training session. Another purpose in giving them the freedom to explore during the FGD was to give them the sense of responsibility to explore any areas that they thought were important but which I may have overlooked, as well as empowering them to take charge of the research, within their limit and capacity. With such preparation, they were able to handle the discussion on their own.

Empowerment of the SRs is another criterion that was built into the focus group to support the SRs in facilitating their own FGD. The FGD was held without the presence of an adult, including me, as if the session was just another everyday chat among peers, close friends, or even best friends. With the absence of an adult in the focus group, the power relation that generally exists in focus groups facilitated by a researcher or adult (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) is removed. The power relation was further reduced by letting the SRs address me as ‘auntie’ instead of ‘teacher’, which is a common title that students use to address their school teacher. ‘Auntie’ is a common title for young people to address an adult in the community respectfully (Jaludin, 2001). Not addressing me as ‘teacher’ also in itself removed the school structural impact on the SRs. By addressing me as ‘auntie’ instead, a ‘homely’ and friendly ambience was created throughout the data collection period, which was also inherited in the FGD. The effort to reduce the power relation in the empirical design allowed me to come close to the SRs from the position of a ‘friend’ rather than a ‘teacher’, the latter of which could have been a hindrance in mirroring an everyday conversation between friends.

FGD is a method of collecting data that emphasises participation, discussion and interaction among all the members (Thomas, 2008; Powell & Single, 1996). It was first used in 1920s for market research (Kitzinger, 1994) and in 1940 for the study of media and its effect (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013). FGD was chosen for this research because of its strength in promoting lively conversations (Morgan, 1998a, 1998b), addressing and exploring the topic concerned (Bryman, 2006; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Powell & Single, 1996) and eliciting information about participants’ experiences (Berg and Lune, 2004). These features of FGD suit and

support the aim of this research to assess the conflicts and conflict resolution of young people in their academic study.

On another note, FGD in the literature is represented by various terms which can be rather confusing (Boddy, 2005; Barbour, 2008). Boddy (2005) suggests returning to just two common terms: focus group discussion and focus group interview. According to him, the former has its roots in research in the UK, while the latter in the US. FGD refers to a group of people coming together to participate in discussion of an area of interest. The dynamic of discussion such as arguing, agreeing or disagreeing and asking each other questions may occur in a FGD. Focus group interviews, like the former, also involve bringing together a group of people to participate in a group interview. Indeed Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2013) view them as an extension of one-to-one interviews. The discussion in a focus group interview, according to Boddy (2005), is directed by the facilitator rather than the group respondents. He added that various techniques and devices may be used to enable the respondents to vote individually in the group.

With respect to Boddy's (2005) suggestion to settle on two versions of the term for focus group, I would argue that the FGD in this research is an amalgamated version of the two. On the one hand, it encourages the SRs to exhaust the list of prepared questions and add additional or follow-up questions if needed, which each of the participants needs to respond to. On the other hand, by introducing a list of questions, it embodies the one-to-one interview aspect of the concept of focus group interview asserted by Boddy (2005).

Apart from serving as the 'interview' questions, the list of prepared questions also served as a guide to develop the discussion on other related issues, for instance along the lines of study techniques and strategies as well as other topics that had not been covered. Indeed, as has been emphasised, the focus group discussion in this research was meant to reproduce everyday conversation among friends, so to produce not only flow in the discussion, but also the kind of intimate information or secrets that friends share among themselves. In short, the focus group discussion in this research is designed to encompass the broad benefit of

group discussion, yet at the same time maintaining the individual perspectives of the young people within it.

4.4.3.1.1 Ethical considerations relating to Focus Group Discussions

As the SRs were going to sit high-stake examinations in the same year that the data were collected, participating in this research as Student Researchers was further taxing on their time and energy. The employment of FGD as a data collection tool in this research intended to create a win-win situation for both parties. According to Greenbaum (1999), FGD allows for the collection of rich data within a short period of time. With FGD, which takes on average less than two hours for each session, the whole process of data collection, including the SRs collecting their own data and finishing their own research project, can be done in just one month, thereby fitting in well with the students' revision schedules.

4.4.3.1.2 Challenges with the Focus Group Discussion activity

The SRs come from two schools, School K and School L. Those that come from School K are a group of younger students who are sitting their GCE O Level examination, while those who come from school L are the group of older students who are sitting their GCE A Level. The SRs from the two schools were mixed in each of the two focus groups rather than each of the schools forming one focus group. There were two reasons for such grouping. First, the SRs from the different schools were thought to have mingled with each other enough to feel comfortable sitting in the FGD on the second day of the pre-research training session. This is in line with the intention to maintain an everyday friendship conversation in the FGD. The second reason was to infuse an element of diversity in the grouping to promote rich discussions among participants.

However, there was an (unintended) setback of having a focus group formed of SRs from two different schools and two different levels of education. Hollander (2004) states that the social context of a group affects the content of the discussion in a focus group:

... the social contexts of focus group – that is, the relationship among the participants and between the participants and the facilitator, as well as the larger social structure within which the discussion takes place – affect the data that are generated in ways that have not yet been widely acknowledged by focus group researchers.

Hollander (2004:604)

Looking at the FGD data that I obtained, the conversations among the SRs appear to flow. However, despite the fact that various measures were taken to get the SRs to share their experiences genuinely, there is no certainty to this. Hollander (2004) asserted the two ways in which participants' contributions may not represent their true thoughts and experiences: problematic silences and problematic speech. Problematic silences refer to the refusal to share experiences with the group. Problematic speech refers to participants speaking up and participating in the discussion, but without truly sharing their experiences. According to Hollander (2004), these two problems exist because of the social context of a group in which the participants do not feel comfortable sharing their experiences

Reflecting back on the composition of the two focus groups, there are at least three aspects relating to the social context of the group that potentially promote 'problematic silences' and 'problematic speech'. First, the mix between the two academic levels of students put the junior SRs in an 'inferior' position to senior SRs. Second, as I personally got to know them better, I came to realise that the SRs from each school had different levels of academic performance which might make those with lower academic performance feel inferior to those with better academic performance. Third, the phenomenon of kiasu (literally meaning 'the fear of losing out'), as mentioned in sub-section 4.3 on page 63, could in fact further influence the withholding of information and experiences from being shared in the focus group.

Figure 5 presents a conversation between three SRs, Lisa, Sarah and Ruby, about the maximum number of academic study tasks that they can handle before they decide to quit. The conversation provides evidence that the members of the

focus group who felt inferior might be quieter through the dynamic discussion in the group. From the conversation, notice Ruby's questions and comments that show she was startled by Suzy's decision just to leave out the difficult academic task, which Ruby would not have done herself. As background information, Ruby is known to have good academic performance, whereas Suzy does not. Although Ruby's questions and comments may seem simple, they could have just forced Suzy to shut down and keep things that would portray her weaknesses to herself. Perhaps also, since the groups are comprised of circles of friends, those who feel inferior might just share with their friends things that they thought their friends already knew about. In relation to this research, such conditions may jeopardise the research's intention to collect intimate experiences and 'secrets' that the young people have with regard to academic study.

-
- Lisa: Urm ... okay ... consider a time when you have an endless amount of schoolwork such as homework and projects ... to do and you ... you're working extra hours just to finish them and you feel like quitting. Okay can you guys imagine that? (...)
- (...)
- Lisa: Owh, Suzy
- Suzy: Ah ... the subject ... the subject of Maths, [because there is this one that we learn, one new topic, about ah equilibrium ... urm ... I'm not that good at that topic ... don't know, (it) was explained many times ... (I still) didn't understand (...)]
- Lisa: Maths
- Suzy: Ah Physics ... still [don't understand either, then at the end, okay just leave it
- Ruby: Just leave it?
-

Suzy: Just leave it?

Ruby: [Even if there is that question in the exam, okay, just leave it? Just leave it?]

Figure 5: Ruby cannot accept that Suzy quit dealing with difficult academic tasks.

A lesson learnt from these reflections is the importance of social context in the formation of groups for focus group discussion. Those with similar academic levels and ability are better grouped together rather than having a group with mixed levels and ability, especially in exploring themes like their relation to academic study. The careless grouping of the SRs for the focus group may have resulted in a few of the SRs not contributing fully to this study. As can be seen, there was relatively less depth to their data, and this is one of the reasons that these data were not analysed in this research.

Nonetheless, one of the strengths of this research is that it uses multiple methods for its data collection. Those SRs who were selected show not only relatively in-depth reflection on their experiences with academic study during the focus group discussion, but also consistently show them at various instances across the different methods. The consistency of the data shared across the different methods provides an assurance that the SRs were indeed sharing their true experiences.

4.4.3.2 *MyAlbum*

The *MyAlbum* task was another planned data collection task in addition to the two focus group discussions in the pre- and post-research training sessions respectively. The task involved the SRs taking photographs of their environment, people, things, events and happenings that were important and meaningful in portraying their experience with academic study. The photographs taken were developed and returned to the SRs. The SRs then stuck and displayed each of the photographs on a fresh page of the *MyAlbum* booklet provided.

Subsequently, the SRs were required to write comments and annotations on each of the pages.

The *MyAlbum* booklet consisted of 30 pages, including a cover page; a page introducing this research, the purpose of the activity, some technical and ethical considerations and contact details; an instructions page and a page for the SRs to introduce themselves, as can be seen in Appendix 9. The SRs were free to share whatever information they thought would allow me to understand their experiences of their academic learning. Part of this effort can be seen in the self-introduction page of *MyAlbum* entitled 'About Me'. No specific information was demanded explicitly in *MyAlbum*, although one can argue that some of the Clip Art on each of the *MyAlbum* pages could encourage the SRs to share specific types of information. Nonetheless, it was emphasised during the verbal instructions to the SRs that they had the freedom to share what they thought was relevant, including what should go into the 'About Me' page, to show their relation to academic study. The *MyAlbum* activity was assigned to the SRs with a focus on two contexts:

1. The context of what is important to them in their everyday life
2. The context of what is important to them in relation to their academic study

The *MyAlbum* activity was inspired by and developed further from the annotated drawing activity done during the pilot study with the intention of drawing out the SRs' rich experiences of their academic study activities and other related activities. According to Punch (2002), drawing is a creative and fun activity that children enjoy and can be used to explore different important aspects of participants' lives. However, it involves the risk of participants reproducing existing images that they have seen either from their friends or in textbooks. Photographs give us an opportunity to open up our 'inner world' of participation without much verbal argumentation (Schatz & Steiner-Loffler, 1998). Taking photographs is also as fun and enjoyable as drawing (Punch, 2002; Tinkler, 2013; Einarsdottir, 2005), yet it does not need the participant to have certain skills that drawing demands (Punch, 2002). I concur with the assumption that people enjoy taking pictures, especially in the era of Facebook and Instagram, where people

enjoy taking photographs of themselves doing tasks and events and then sharing these with their friends and the public.

I also subscribe to the fact that drawing not only needs skills, but also time which the SRs do not have, as they are preparing for their examinations. The students were already required to describe their experience around each photograph which is already taxing enough. Furthermore, each SR would only have been able to produce a few drawings, limiting the exploration of the different aspects of their everyday life, whereas a 25-exposure disposable camera allowed them to take many more photographs.

In addition, it is not the intention of this empirical study to analyse the photographs *per se*, rather for the photographs to act as the means of accessing the experiences that the SRs have chosen to share. According to Tinkler (2013), research employing photo-generating methods can have two opposite aims which form a continuum: one which is 'photo-focussed' and the other one which is 'talk-focussed'. The former focuses on the photographs as the primary source of data, while in the latter the photographs act as the means of promoting conversation or discussion with the participants. Although the *MyAlbum* activity required the SRs to take photographs to portray their experience of academic study, from their everyday activities, the photographs themselves were not central to the research as a whole. This strategy sits well with the 'talk-focussed' aim. The photographs from the individual SRs' *MyAlbum* were meant to be the themes selected by the individual SRs themselves around which they would describe their experiences with respect to academic study. The importance of supporting the photographs with explanation from the participants is supported by Fasoli (2003), Einarsdottir (2005) and Tinkler (2013), and without this, the photographs would only have told part of the story. With such an open concept of framing the *MyAlbum* activity, the SRs were allowed to explore their own world freely based on the assignment given to them.

For the *MyAlbum* activity, each of the SRs was given one disposable camera. With a disposable camera, the photographs cannot be edited or deleted (Tinkler, 2013), and the SRs have a limited number of photographs to take. It was hoped

that this would persuade the SRs to reflect on the experiences that connected to the image before they took the picture. Einarsdottir (2005) showed that, compared to a digital camera, photographs taken with a disposable camera included significantly more private spaces, taboos, and activities that were kept from adults. The fact that a disposable camera can go with the participant (Tinkler, 2013) means that it can go a long way into exploring even into their private and intimate spaces, thereby supporting the objective of the empirical data collection in this research.

4.4.3.2.1 Ethical considerations with the *MyAlbum* activity

Although the photographs are not the focus of the *MyAlbum* activity, the SRs are still producing photographs and further explaining their experiences around them. Tinkler (2013) asserts that photographs can be used to peer into the everyday lives of research participants, because the camera can go everywhere that the participant goes. In such conditions, it is highly likely that participants will come up with intimate photographs and private information that could affect them in one way or another. An ethical consideration with regards to this prospect was to allow the SRs to screen off photographs and information that are highly sensitive or at least warn the researcher about them. In the *MyAlbum* booklet (Appendix 9), there is a little space on each page for the SRs to indicate if the particular pictures are confidential and only for the eyes of the researcher, or if they can be used in the thesis or any other representation of the research. Nonetheless, on the first attempt, many of the photographs were labelled as confidential by the SRs, which gives very little flexibility in representing the information. As the main researcher, I negotiated with them further, sharing the rationale for why the photographs were important as evidence and assuring them both of my awareness of the Islamic values that we all adhere to and that their interests would still be protected as far as possible even though they had not labelled the photographs as confidential on their *MyAlbum* pages. The SRs finally agreed to relook at the pictures and revised their confidentiality checks on them.

4.4.3.2.2 Challenges with the *MyAlbum* activity

The *MyAlbum* activity did not go without problems. Although the activity was made as simple as possible, it was a mistake to assume that young people of

such an age and level of education would understand fully what was required by the activity. Misunderstanding is one of the problems that Tinkler (2013) raised, and which was also experienced in this research. Of those who seem to have misunderstood the *MyAlbum* activity, a few provided minimum or irrelevant information and others focussed literally on answering the guiding questions which could be found on each of the *MyAlbum* pages. Perhaps, without proper understanding of what was needed in the research, it was difficult for the SRs to decide which photographs to take, as mentioned by many researchers who used the same method (Tinkler, 2013).

The guiding questions on each of the *MyAlbum* pages were meant to help the SRs to explore the different aspects of the photographs that they had taken and to annotate them. These guiding questions were meant to represent the kind of questions that an interviewer would ask, should the photographs be used in interviews or other discussion activities. Unexpectedly, these questions did not work for at least one of the SRs, who tried to answer the questions literally, as can be seen in Figure 6 on page 83.

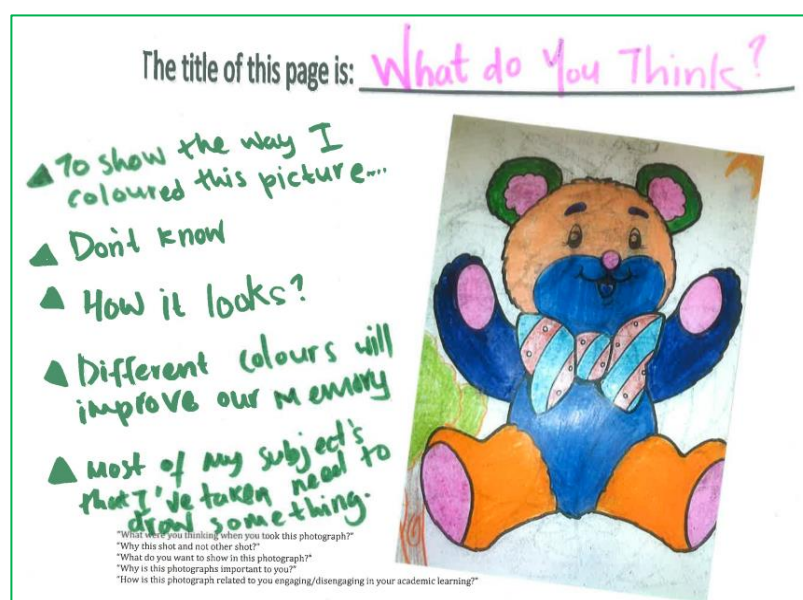


Figure 6: One of the SRs answers literally to the guiding questions on the *MyAlbum* page *MyAlbum/Sarah 2/14..*

The use of disposable rather than digital cameras, as has been discussed earlier, supports the intention of the data collection in this research well. Disappointingly,

however, there were a few technical problems with the cameras which to some extent jeopardised the data collection process. The quality of the pictures was far below that of a basic digital phone camera. Indeed, when the photographs were developed, not all of them came out, maybe because of the quality of the film, or the inexperience of the SRs. On some occasions, the SRs were asked to use their phones to retake the important photographs that did not come out well. Although some of them were willing to retake the respective photographs using their phones, most of them did not. Furthermore, with the rapid development and convenience of the digital camera, there are not many outlets that provide the service of developing photographs from film anymore, and those that are available come with a relatively high price tag.

In a nutshell, *MyAlbum* was meant to encompass broader and richer data about the SRs individually, to complement the FGD. In contrast to the FGDs, which were semi-structured with guided questions, *MyAlbum* was meant to be open. The *MyAlbum* activity was designed to access the different aspects of the SRs' everyday lives, with particular focus on the conflicts that they experience in relation to academic study and how they resolve these. The basis of this method and all the methods in this study is to gain insight into the explicit and implicit experiences of the SRs in order to provide empirical evidence to support the two main objectives of this empirical study, mentioned earlier in the introduction to this chapter. The advantage of this *MyAlbum* activity is the freedom that was given to the SRs themselves to select those activities and activity settings that are important to them in relation to their academic study. For young people in their late adolescence, whose activities have expanded beyond those that are foreseen for younger children (Leontiev, 1978), confining the activity settings to those that a researcher would assume pertaining to academic study, as practiced by Hedegaard (2008, 2012a), may risk missing out something important. Giving the SRs the freedom to choose those activities and activity settings that are important and meaningful in representing their relation to academic study is thus seen as the strength of this *MyAlbum* approach.

4.4.3.3 *MyQuestionnaire*

MyQuestionnaire was an unplanned data collection tool which proved to be useful and successful in this research. The construction of *MyQuestionnaire* was made possible because of the overall design of the data collection process itself. The three-day pre-research training session which took place during the first term break ‘captured’ the energy and interest of the majority of the SRs and encourage them to participate. Although these three days with the SRs were meant to prepare them for their own research task, a hidden agenda was to exploit the full-day session to interact with the SRs in relation to the purpose of the empirical study. Both the SRs’ own experience in relation to academic study, as well as different ways to approach young people like them, were explored during the session. This stemmed from my eagerness to find ways of collecting data about the SRs’ experiences, which underscored data collection in both the pilot and main study of this research. During the three-day pre-research session, various methods were attempted, including ‘Facebook Wall’ and ‘Facebook Inboxes’ as well as *MyQuestionnaire*.

‘Facebook Wall’ and ‘Facebook Inboxes’ were created with the current trend of young people using the social networking site in mind. The ‘Facebook Wall’ was created on an A1 flipchart that was placed in the dining area where the SRs met casually to have their break, refreshments and lunch. For the ‘Facebook Inboxes’ activity, the SRs were each required to decorate and label an envelope with their name on it and to paste this on a designated wall, in the same area as the ‘Facebook Wall’. All the SRs were encouraged to participate in both the activities by writing on the ‘Facebook Wall’ and giving notes to the other SRs on whatever interested them, including their academic study, through the ‘Facebook Inboxes. However, the ‘Facebook Wall’ and ‘Facebook Inboxes’ did not provide any relevant data for this research, as the SRs sent notes simply of a friendly nature, admiring each other, sending greetings and so on.

However, *MyQuestionnaire* emerged as a tool that collected a lot of interesting and useful data. It was a compilation of 73 questions collected from 11 of the 13

SRs and myself. The SRs in their capacity as student researchers were asked to write down at least five questions that they thought people should ask them in order to find out about their relation to their academic study. All the questions were then compiled and given back to them to respond to in their roles as participants in the research. A set of the compiled questions can be seen in Appendix 10.

4.4.3.3.1 Ethical considerations with *MyQuestionnaire*

As *MyQuestionnaire* was a method of data collection that emerged while carrying out this research, it was therefore unplanned. Apart from the ethical considerations taken for the overall research design, which also cover the *MyQuestionnaire* activity, no specific additional ethical considerations were taken during the pre-research session. However, after deep reflection on the task, there seems to be an issue which might be of ethical concern, the issue of 'saving face', which according to Kim and Nam (1998), is the embarrassment felt by a person when they feel discredited in the public eye.

When the SRs were asked to write their five questions, there was not yet any plan to compile these questions into a questionnaire. Later, when these were compiled to form *MyQuestionnaire*, one of the aspects insisted on was the importance of maintaining the exact words and format of the questions from the SRs. The SRs were surprised when *MyQuestionnaire* was given to them to respond to, and some of them said jokingly that they did not know that the questions were going to be used like that. Examples of incompletely formed questions written by one of the SRs can be seen in Figure 7.

-
- How do you cope with your studies TO GET to your ambition?
(MyQ/general/P7/JohanQ8)
 - Why? [so that he feels normal only] (MyQ/general/P6/HarrisQ2)
 - What is studying to you? [(definitely (he) cannot answer)]
(MyQ/Anna/P6/HarrisQ4)
 - [Ask] ambition (MyQ/general/P6/HarrisQ5)
-

-
- [Ask] how far you would go for that. (MyQ/general/P6/HarrisQ6)
 - Dealing with [feeling laziness] (MyQ/Sarah/P6/HarrisQ7)
 - [(Must have opening speech so that it is maintained extremely normal) ask about family life] (MyQ/Anna/P6/HarrisQ8)
-

Figure 7: Examples of incomplete questions from the SRs for *MyQuestionnaire*.

The particular SR who asked the incomplete questions for *MyQuestionnaire* might have felt embarrassed in front of the whole group of SRs when his questions were made public. This feeling of discomfort was displayed as a 'defensive' response from him when the questionnaire was showed to the group. From the perspective of the 'kiasu' phenomenon and the feeling of inferiority (he was a junior), let alone a gathering of 'inquiry' into their relation to academic study, such exposure might have hurt the 'ego' of the SR, and left him emotionally vulnerable. This impact may be exaggerated in the context of Brunei, and Asian society in general, where 'saving face' is an important societal phenomenon (Ang, Leong and Kotler, 2000; Kim & Nam, 1998).

4.4.3.3.2 Challenges with *MyQuestionnaire*

MyQuestionnaire is a tool that emerged from my eagerness to understand more about the young people's relation to academic study, after exploiting the three full days of interaction with them during the pre-research training session. A later analysis of the questions that were submitted by the SRs identified a drawback to the activity. The questions written by some SRs seem to echo the different questions that I had asked them during the training session, an example of which is shown in Figure 8.

-
- Why do you go to school? (MyQ/Suzy/Q3/4)
 - Why do you go to school? (MyQ/Sarah/Q3/1)
 - What are the factors which make you go to school?
-

(MyQ/Farah/Q2/4)

- Who inspires you to go to school? (MyQ/Farah/Q4/4)

Figure 8: The SRs' questions in *MyQuestionnaire* that echoed one of my questions to them during the pre-research training session.

A challenge with these 'echoed' questions is the difficulty of determining how genuine the questions are. If the question is genuinely asked by the SRs, it could be an important opening into their experience with academic study. However, if the question simply echoes my questions to them, then it may also mean that the SRs were representing my interest rather than their own, or simply that they did not understand what was expected of them in this exercise.

Overall, the design of all three research tools - focus group discussions (FGDs), *MyAlbum* and *MyQuestionnaire* - were fundamentally aimed at empowering the SRs to some extent by giving them the freedom to share important anecdotes from their everyday lives with respect to academic study.

4.4.4 An account of the questions, 'problem statements' and assignments across the different methods

It was the intention of this research to collect the SRs' everyday experiences in terms of the demands, conflicts and conflict resolution they experienced through their participation across the different (institutional) practices. To draw this information out from the SRs, questions, 'problem statements' and assignments were planned and articulated in two of the data collection tools: FGD (Appendix 7) and *MyAlbum* (Appendix 9). A set of questions about 'time management' was incorporated into *MyQuestionnaire*, which was an unplanned data collection method used in this research.

This section will discuss the questions, ‘problem statements’ and assignments across the different data collection methods employed in this research to elicit the young people’s relevant daily experiences. Some of the questions were more direct, such as those about the importance of school subject-related matters and time management. There were also questions that asked about extreme conditions and situations such as what they do if they have too much homework and too many deadlines or the content of their study is too difficult to understand. Meanwhile, a set of hypothetical questions were asked to elicit their imagined reactions to made-up scenarios and how they would resolve any conflicts. There were also general questions intended to draw out any other experiences that had not been covered in the previous questions. Furthermore, additional questions were added to the post-focus group discussion (postFGD) and the *MyAlbum* activity.

4.4.4.1 The importance of school subject-related matters

The question on the importance of subject-related matters, as can be seen in Figure 9 on page 89, was meant to serve as an introduction to the FGD and as an initial attempt to draw out the participants’ reflections on their academic study. In fact, this question was a direct request for the participants to share their view of the importance of academic study to them.

<i>The questions</i>	<i>Sub-questions</i>
1. What is your view of the importance of studying school subject-related matters?	nil

Figure 9: FGD - Importance of school subject-related matters.

4.4.4.2 The questions on time management

The second and third questions in the FGD guide asked about time management, as can be seen from Figure 10 and Appendix 7. In addition, questions on this topic also appeared in *MyQuestionnaire* (Figure 11 and Appendix 10).

<i>The questions</i>	<i>Sub-questions</i>
2. How do you divide your time between studying and other matters?	a. What are the 'other matters' that always come in the way of your studying? b. Is it bothering you? Why? c. How do you resolve / settle these clashes?
3. When is your best time to do your study/revision?	a. Why is this the best time? b. How do you normally do your study/revision? c. Does it work? Why?

Figure 10: FGD - Questions on time management.

<i>Question no.</i>	<i>The questions</i>
Q1	Do you have a personal study timetable? If 'yes', can you tell me how you planned the timetable? If 'no' how do you organise your time in a week or a month or for the year (this year)?
Q2	When you plan your time (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly – for this year), what are the factors in your 'everyday life' that... <ul style="list-style-type: none">• You consider?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worry/concern you? • You need to negotiate to get the time and space that you want?
Q3	<p>When you were considering planning your timetable (or are going to plan your timetable) for your study...</p> <p>Do you consult anybody? Who? Why?</p> <p>What were the things in your 'everyday life' that were the easiest to sacrifice? Why?</p> <p>What were the things in your 'everyday life' that were the hardest to scarifies? Why?</p>
Q4	<p>Did you stick to your timetable?</p> <p>If 'yes', how do you feel?</p> <p>If 'no', why? And how do you feel?</p>
Q5	<p>How do you prioritise your 'everyday life' and your study?</p>

Figure 11: *MyQuestionnaire* - Questions on time management.

These questions on time management sought to identify a common means/mediator through which the experiences of the young people in relation to their academic study, including their conflicts and related resolutions were organised. With respect to school students, it is believed that the act of managing time in itself is an intentional action. The action embodies a range of other intentional actions which are directed towards a certain motive-orientation. It involves young people juggling the many demands from the practices and negotiating the different activities based on their motive-orientation.

From my experience as a teacher, one of the common time-management strategies among young people, at least in the context of Brunei, is the construction of a pre-planned timetable. The timetable could involve planning school academic study-related tasks, as well as out-of-school academic study-related tasks such as tuition, doing homework and revision of the academic subject content at home. For some, the timetable could incorporate routine activities from other institutional practices, such as cleaning the house,

babysitting and so on. The questions in Figure 10 and Figure 11 also show that I am open to considering the different time-management strategies the young people might have used to accommodate those that do not have a pre-planned timetable, but use a different time-management strategy.

Managing time also includes organising one's everyday agenda and routine and prioritising different activities. The fact that school students use different strategies to manage their time is an indication that they intend to adhere to the demands of the different institutional practices. In relation to the objective-motive of the school, this could be to finish any assigned projects and homework as well as prepare for the examination, which indicates a positive relation to academic study. On the other hand, in relation to home practice, perhaps the incorporation of routines like child-minding or doing household chores could mean that the home practice is important to the person.

In relation to planning their time, it was foreseen that the young people would perhaps consult other important people around them to discuss or negotiate when organising their activities in order to prevent any potential time-space conflicts (see Figure 11, Q3, page 91). With this question, it was anticipated that negotiation across different institutional practices to incorporate other views/perspectives into a personal timetable would be a pro-active conflict resolution strategy.

In the same group of questions, there were questions asking about the things that are easiest and hardest for young people to sacrifice. These questions were intended to see how the young people anticipated potential conflicts and their resolutions while they were planning their time. However, from the young people's responses, it seems that the question was not effective in understanding their real conflicts for two reasons. First, it merely asked for the SRs to state the 'things' that were in slight or strong conflict with their academic study without explaining the conflict. Second, there it is also possible that the 'things' were imagined conflicts rather than real ones, because they were anticipated rather than actual examples. However, because the overall design of this research is focussed on drawing out these specific experiences, a lot of conflicts with respect

to time, space and planning have also emerged elsewhere across the different sets of data.

The question on the implementation of the pre-planned timetable was more explicit in *MyQuestionnaire* (see Q4 in Figure 11 on page 91) than in the FGD (see questions 4 and 5 of the FGD (Figure 10 on page 90)). It is assumed that demands from areas other than academic study, whose activities form contradictory goals or motive-orientations, could be hindrances to the implementation of the planned timetable. Questions about the implementation of the pre-planned timetable were asked separately from the planning of the pre-planned timetable, to allow the young people to reflect deeply on their experiences in both the tasks separately.

For future research, it was hoped that an analysis of the pre-planned timetable could be done, either in the planning or the implementation stage, could reveal the dynamics of the multiple demands exerted on young people. A timetable that puts high emphasis on academic study activity could mean a strong intention to adhere to the demands of academic study, but failure to stick to it afterwards might indicate that other activities are more dominant and in conflict with the academic study-related activity. The timetable perhaps shows a young person's negotiation of the conflicts that emerge from contradicting demands with respect to academic study and other than academic study. However, implementation of the pre-planned timetable could reveal further the dynamics of the conflicting demands in the practices. Perhaps the dominance of demands other than academic study may have required the young people to compromise their academic study activity. As such, it could reveal whether home activities, for instance, support or oppose school academic activities.

4.4.4.3 Extreme questions – to elicit reflections on intense conflicts the SRs have experienced and how they resolved them

Although questions 4 and 5 in Figure 12 on page 95 asked about implementation of the pre-planned timetable, they inquire about the young people's actions in two

opposite extreme situations. These questions were developed from one of the questions in the pilot study, which explored what it is that keep the young people going when they are on the verge of giving up their academic study activity-related tasks. In the pilot study, the responses to the question were indeed intimate. With the intention of exploring deeper down this line, the question was refined and developed further for the main study.

Question 4 asks about situations where the young people would forsake their academic study activity. The respective sub-questions were meant to delve deeper into the experiences of the SR, their conflicts and how they would resolve these. In contrast, question 5 refers to the limit to which the young people will persevere before they quit their academic study activity. The respective sub-questions were meant to go beyond the conflict to the people or objects around the academic activity that support or do not support them with their academic study.

These questions, however, did not manage to bring out the kind of intimate responses that had been obtained during the Pilot Focus Group Discussion (PilotFGD). Perhaps because the PilotFGD was conducted by me, and the preFGD and postFGD were conducted by the SRs themselves, they did not share the same passion and skills to draw such information from the group. The PilotFGD was also a relatively smaller group of one circle of friends compared to the FGD in the main study, which was a relatively big group comprised of more than one circle of friends.

Perhaps the 'would' in the question makes the question hypothetical so the responses obtained were not grounded in the experiences of the young people. In the future, questions such as 'When was the last time that studying was the last thing you wanted to do?' followed by sub-questions such as 'Why?', 'What did you do then?', and 'How did you feel?' may be more focused on what the young people have concretely experienced before.

Nonetheless, these questions managed to draw out quite a deep and elaborate discussion on the young people's experiences in different extreme situations

where other activities have priority over academic study. The questions also brought upfront the important people around the young people in relation to their academic study.

<i>The questions</i>	<i>Sub-questions</i>
4. When did you last think that studying was the last thing you would do?	d. Why? e. What would you do then? f. How would you feel?
5. Consider a time when you had an endless amount of schoolwork to do, and you were working extra hours just to finish it, and you felt like quitting...	g. Have you ever experienced this kind of situation? h. Did you manage to finish all your work in time? i. What kept you going? What made you quit? j. What were you thinking when you were making your decision to keep going/to quit? k. Was there anyone who inspired to go on? l. Who/what inspired to go on? m. Who/what gave you the logic to quit?

Figure 12: FGD - Questions of two extremes.

4.4.4.4 Between attending a once-in-a-lifetime concert and preparing for an examination – a hypothetical question

The FGD question shown in Figure 13 on page 97 is a hypothetical question. It was meant to put the SRs in a supposedly imaginary acute dilemma between an

opportunity to attend a once-in-a-lifetime concert for free, and preparing for an important examination the next day. The assumption behind this question was that young people are generally very enthusiastic about pop singers, and receiving a free ticket to a once-in-a-lifetime concert of their idol is definitely a rare opportunity. If there were a conflict between the time of the concert and their important examination, it was believed that the way the young people resolved this conflict would reflect their motive-orientation with respect to academic study in relation to entertainment.

Unfortunately, from the analysis of the responses to the question in both the PreFGD and PostFGD, as well as a reflection on the questions itself, it is clear that the question failed to meet its objective in drawing out the conflicts and conflict resolution from the young people, as situated in their daily practice. Not all the SRs are into celebrity singers, let alone going to concerts. Indeed in Brunei Darussalam, with such strong Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB) values, such a concert is rare. So for those who were not into celebrity singers, the conflict that this question was trying to sketch did not manage to catch their attention. However, for those who were into celebrity singers, their responses to this question were not convincing enough. My impression is that since the question is a hypothetical one, the responses received seemed to be hypothetical too and most of the times were not grounded in real practice.

However, interestingly the responses to the question gave me different, unexpected insights. This is one of the questions that shows a high level of group dynamics in both the FGDs. Those SRs that were interested in going to the concert seemed to put a lot of effort into persuading the other SRs to join them or at least agree with them. Those who were against going to the concert would give a multitude of reasons for not going. In the discussion, the SRs started by using their real reasons and positions in their arguments. Nonetheless, as the discussion intensified, more and more hypothetical elements were introduced into the discussion to support their own stance in persuading other SRs to go to the concert or in defending their stance of not going to the concert. With the seemingly hypothetical conditions introduced into the

discussion, it was difficult to establish whether the SRs had responded with genuine conditions and actions, or just hypothetical assertions.

<i>The questions</i>	<i>Sub-questions</i>
6. Imagine you were going to sit an important examination. The night before, there was a once-in-a-lifetime concert performance by your idol singers, and you had a free ticket to a VIP seat, which you had won from a radio quiz.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Would you go? b. If 'yes' <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Why? ii. How about your important exam the next day? iii. What if none of your friends were going? iv. If all your friends were staying at home doing their final revision for the next day and you were the only one who went to the show, what would you be thinking /feeling? c. If 'no' <ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. Why? vi. What if your friends were all going? vii. If your friends were all going, and you stayed home doing your final revision, what would you be thinking / feeling?

Figure 13: FGD - Between attending a once-in-a-lifetime concert and preparing for an examination - a hypothetical question.

4.4.4.5 Situations that lead to prioritisation of academic study

The last two questions in the FGD (Figure 14) were intended to sweep across the SRs' experiences again for any meaningful events that would push them to put academic study as a priority or otherwise. Similarly to the previous question, these two questions were developed from the same question in the pilot study. As these questions were broad in their scope, generally the responses received were broad too. For instance, some of the SRs said that 'family matters' would be of higher priority than academic study. However, 'family matters' alone can mean so many things. Some of them referred to 'family matters' as something of an 'emergency' that would take precedence over their academic study.

Given that very few specific experiences emerged from the answers to these two questions, I would say that the questions did not quite meet their objective of eliciting the SRs' experiences of conflicts.

<i>The questions</i>	<i>Sub-questions</i>
7. Is there any particular occasion in your life that makes you feel that there is a very strong need to focus on your study?	nil
8. Is there any particular occasion in your life that makes you feel that you have other important things in your life apart from your study?	nil

Figure 14: FGD - Situations that lead to prioritisation of academic study.

4.4.4.6 Additional question in the PostFGD

As part of the continuous effort to think of questions and methods to draw out the SRs' experiences with academic study, there were additional questions put into the PostFGD, which can be seen in Appendix 11. The questions emerged with the intention of looking into the SRs' opinion on the classic discussion around the issue of academic study. Nonetheless, these questions again were found to be less useful in providing relevant information for this research. In my view, the additional questions posed to the young people were a bit too academic and philosophical for them to discuss given their age and level of education.

4.4.4.7 The assignment with the *MyAlbum* activity

In the instructions to *MyAlbum*, two sets of 'helping' phrases were included to guide the SRs as well as to give them a picture of the task. The first set can be seen in the first instruction line (Figure 15 and Appendix 9) which were meant as a general guide to orientate the SRs to the objects they could take photographs of. The second set, which can be seen in the fifth instruction line (16 and Appendix 7), was meant as a general guide for the SRs in their annotations. SRs were told that if they ran out of ideas of what to write on the *MyAlbum* pages, then they could refer to the second set of questions, which also appeared on each of the *MyAlbum* pages.

Take at least 5 photographs each week over a period of 3 weeks from 14th March 2011 to 2nd April 2011.

Consider using the following statements if you run out of ideas while taking your photographs:

- "These inspire me to do my homework"
 - "They encourage me to spend extra time at night reading my school books"
 - "I think this is better than doing my homework"
-

-
- “Important people in my life who I would never let down”
 - “I can’t live without it”
 - “Something that I turn to when school work is boring”
 - “This is why I am trying so hard in my studies”
 - “I need these things/people when school work is too much for me”
 - “This is the work that I am most proud of”

Figure 15: *MyAlbum* - Instructions and guide to taking photographs - extracted from *MyAlbum* booklet.

On each of the pages, annotate your photographs. You can be as creative as possible when you annotate the photograph, but try to write on the paper instead of writing on the photographs, if possible. When you are annotating, consider the following questions: “What were you thinking when you took this photograph?”

- “Why this shot and not another shot?”
- “What do you want to show in this photograph?”
- “Why is this photograph important to you?”
- “How is this photograph related to you engaging/disengaging with your academic learning?”

Figure 16: *MyAlbum* - Instructions and guide to annotating photographs - extracted from the *MyAlbum* booklet.

4.4.5 The data analysis and interpretation of the results

This sub-section will elaborate on the theoretically-informed analytical process employed in this study that supports the construction of the empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study. The

analytical principles and procedure were not developed as *a priori* but they evolved together along with my experiences in empirically and theoretically processing the data. There is no fixed procedure for the construction of a theoretical model (Tolman, 1999; see Davydov, 1990). However a theoretically-informed broad protocol for analysing and interpreting the empirical data has been constructed for this research (Figure 17, page 106), which complements and supports the Research Triangle Model in Figure 2 on page 47). However, whilst the Research Triangle Model was created with more traditional empirical research in mind (pers comm, Chaiklin, 2013), the protocol is meant to focus the empirical study towards the creation of a theoretical model within the cultural historical tradition. In the protocol (Figure 17, page 106), the data collection and data analysis steps correspond directly to the 'method' and 'analysis' in the Research Triangle Model. However, the 'reduction' and 'ascent' in the protocols serve to expand the 'interpretation' of the result from the Research Triangle Model, in order to accommodate the construction of the theoretical model of young people relation to academic study.

In accompanying the protocol, some guidelines (Figure 20, page 118) have also been developed for identifying the demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolutions from the empirical data. The guidelines consist of principles for recognising the presence of these elements in the empirical data. The guidelines are supplemented by a flowchart (Figure 21, page 119) that outlines the principles for interpretation of the actions of conflict resolution in order to understand the motive-orientations of young people, and subsequently to differentiate and organise the motive-orientations through their relative dominance in order to get a picture of young people's motive hierarchy.

4.4.5.1 The protocols for the development of the empirically-grounded theoretical model

There are two characteristics of a theoretical model according to Davydov (1990). First is that it should function even in its undeveloped and simplest form; and second is that it might have lost its particular differences and become

homogenous. The protocol developed in this research for deriving such a model, with respect to the relation of young people to academic study includes four processes: Data Collection, Data Analysis, Reduction and Ascent (Figure 17, page 106).

The Data Collection process in the protocol should be geared towards collecting the aspects on demands, counter-demands, conflict and conflict resolution in the daily activities of young people across the institutional practices, with specific focus on academic study. The collection of such empirical data has been discussed in detail in this chapter up to sub-section 3.3 on page 54. The Data Analysis process should focus on the observable similarities and differences that appear and emerge from the empirical data. This is done with the purpose of generating empirical abstractions through theoretical thematic analysis. Thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006) is a useful approach for qualitative methods and can generally be divided into two camps: guided by theory and not guided by theory.

Generally, practitioners of thematic analysis, such as those using the Grounded Theory approach will look for emerging themes and getting those themes saturated through the thematic analysis to conclude their research findings. Ryan and Bernard (2003) proposed robust techniques for identification of themes, such as looking for repetition in many forms including analogies. Bryman (2012) insisted that repetition alone is not enough in theme identification, unless it is related to the research question or research focus. One has to keep reflecting on the themes to understand the interconnection of the themes, but through Davydov's (1990) perspective, themes at this level are still appearing in the empirical realm. In this research, I used the persistence of actions of conflict resolution in order to identify themes, assuming that these actions are grounded on a strong systemic internal relation between young people and academic study. Davydov (1990) asserted that such empirical abstraction alone, which is achieved through sensory perception, is not enough to understand the phenomenon/the relation. This inadequacy makes the remaining two steps in the protocol imperative. The remaining two steps in the protocol is 'Reduction' and 'Ascent', and these are seen as in unison on a dialectic basis (Davydov,1990). There are

no fixed rules in ascending to the concrete except for mastering the principles of the methodology (Tolman, 1999). This is evidenced in Davydov (1990)'s paper where he explained the principles of methodology in cultural and historical tradition, and he did not refer to any sets of rules or procedures for arriving at the mental concrete. Ozmantar and Monaghan (2007) emphasised that Davydov was referring to the dialectic relation between the empirical concrete and the theoretical abstraction, that which can be achieved through the process of analysis and synthesis.

The protocol set up in Figure 17 on page 106 is intended as a 'summary' of the process of construction of the theoretical model as informed by the idea of theoretical abstraction within the cultural historical tradition, as suggested by Davydov (1990), Hedegaard (1995), Langemeyer and Roth (2006), Ozmantar and Monaghan (2007) and Chaiklin (2011b). Davydov emphasised that the systemic essential internal relationships should be identified through 'Reduction'. In contrast to empirical abstraction, Davydov noted that the essential internal relation is not detectable by direct senses, but can be detected in the relation by considering it as mediated within a holistic system:

The internal is detected in mediations, in a system, within a whole, in its emergence. In other words, here the "present," what is observed must be mentally correlated with the "past" and with the potential of the "future" – in these *transitions* there are mediations, formations of a system, of a whole, from *different* interacting things. A theoretical idea or concept should bring *together* things that are *dissimilar, different, multifaceted, and not coincident*, and should indicate between the *universal* and the *isolated* (the integral and the distinct) emerges as the specific content of a theoretical concept.

(Davydov, 1990:256)

In the Reduction step, the relation is mentally reconstructed through the empirical concrete, involving the abstraction of the generalised empirical data. This process reduces the concrete in reality to its abstract condensed form. Davydov (1988:191) referred to this as 'contentful abstractions and generalization that

would serve as “cells” of the system’. ‘Abstract’ within the Theory of Activity refers to the phenotype through which the underlying genotype, the ‘concrete’ essential internal relations, need to be identified (Davydov, 1990). It refers to the universal as the base and the single source that would explain a variety of phenomena (ibid). The process of multiple abstractions yields the concrete in thought, and is known as the ascent from the abstract in thought to the concrete in thought (Roth & Hwang, 2006). Through a genetic reconstruction of the real connections in the systemic whole within the societal process, a theoretical model is constructed (Davydov, 1990).

The ‘Ascent’ refers to the process of returning from the mental concrete to the empirical concrete (Davydov, 1990:289). This process involves using the identified and modelled essential internal relations to explain the emergence of a variety of phenomena (ibid) which is consistent and highly structured (Ozmantar and Monaghan, 2007). Some researchers refer to the Reduction steps as ascents too, i.e. ascents from the concrete to the abstract (Roth & Hwang, 2006; Ozmantar & Monaghan, 2007). The two ascents, namely Ascents/Reduction from the concrete to the abstract and from the abstract to the concrete, are indeed dialogical in relation. Roth and Hwang (2006) referred to them as double ascension and emphasised that the two processes are not separate but simultaneous. According to Davydov (1990), the ascent to the mental concrete should be the main movement, towards which the Reduction (abstraction) is subordinated.

In the effort to be systematic, the process of Reduction and Ascent in this research was performed twice. In the first round, the demand relation between the young people and the institutional practices was synthesised, and this led to the construction of the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model that can be seen in Figure 18, on page 111. The model is considered as an intermediary model that was used to explore and describe the empirical data/abstractions, and this is the ascending process of the first round. The model highlights the contradictions among the different activities in and across the different practices, as well as singling out the demands related to academic study activity, D(AS), from the demands for activities other than academic study, D(O), in order to

sustain this research's focus on academic study activity. The development of this model incorporates the concept of demand, counter-demand and the conflicts as experienced by young people. Chapter 5 presents the descriptions of the demand relations between the young people and the different institutional practices, based on this model.

The Reduction process is continued further with the abstraction in relation to the young people motive-orientations based on the empirical abstraction of their conflict resolutions. This represents the second round of Reduction where the theoretical model of the motive hierarchy is formed from the mental synthesis of the relations of the many units of essential internal relations (motive-orientations), from a systemic perspective. In this round, the Ascension process refers to the description of four of the young participants' relations to academic study.

Sequence of processes for developing the empirically-grounded theoretical model to explain the relation of young people to academic study

1. **Data Collection** - Collection of data that capture the conflicts and contradictions with respect to academic study activity and other activities in young people's everyday lives;
 2. **Data Analysis** of the empirical data for empirical abstraction through theoretical thematic analysis, of the demands and the respective conflicts and conflict resolutions, through observing similarities and differences and other empirical features;
 3. **Reduction** of the empirical abstraction to abstract condensed form (theoretical abstraction), where the essential internal relation is synthesised. This process is done by mentally reconstructing the relations of young people to activities in the practices, including academic study. In this research, it is done in two steps/rounds:
 - (a) The abstractions of the different demands and the relations between the young people and the activity across the different institutional practices, including the relation with academic study activity (Figure 18, page 111). This is the intermediary theoretical model which feeds into the next round of abstraction;
-

-
- (b) Consideration of the multiple abstractions and consolidating them to form a systemic whole that makes up the theoretical model of the motive hierarchy (the meta-abstraction).
4. **Ascent** from the theoretical abstractions (the motive hierarchy) to describe the empirical concrete. In this research, it refers to the :
- (a) The multiple demands between the young people and the activities across the different institutional practices (Presented in Chapter 5);
 - (b) The relation of the young people to academic study through the motive hierarchy (presented in Chapter 6).
-

Figure 17: The protocol for developing the empirically-grounded theoretical model of young people's relation to academic study

4.4.5.2 An account of the experiences of data analysis and interpretation that led to the construction of the empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study

The empirical research was informed mainly by the work of Hedegaard in her study to understand young children from the Cultural Historical theoretical tradition. Following Hedegaard (2008)'s method, theoretical conditions were applied in this research throughout the empirical research, from the Data Collection, Data Analysis, Reduction to form the theoretical model and Ascent to the concrete. In reality this process was messy with many movements among the different steps described in the protocols (Figure 17, on page 106). However, this sub-section will present an account of my reflections on the data processing, following the order that was described in the research protocol.

It was clear from the beginning of the need to identify young people's motive hierarchy through identifying their motive-orientations. Data collection was embarked upon with the aim of exploring how theoretically-informed preconceptions or categories like demands, conflicts and conflict resolutions are experienced by young people in Brunei Darussalam. Preconception and guiding theory frame are the conditions that Hedegaard (2008) emphasised that a researcher should bring to the field during data collection. However, technically

this research did not employ the 'ethnographic' approach as Hedegaard does (see sub-section 4.2, page 59 for an account on this issue).

The full analysis process took place after all the data were collected. These involved cycles of different approaches. In Hedegaard's approach, she started by writing a protocol, which refers to the interpretation of the data in the field while the researcher is still in touch with the research participants (Hedegaard, 2008). Since this research did not embark on an 'ethnographic' approach like Hedegaard, the protocol writing was done together with the common sense interpretation. The common sense interpretation corresponds to the first stage of the interpretation process in Hedegaard's procedure. To be consistent with the research protocol that was developed for this research, the protocol writing and common sense interpretation corresponds to the Data Analysis process (Figure 17, page 106). It was done through writing my initial reactions/impressions using post-it notes on the data itself. The purpose of this initial analysis was for me to practice identifying the set of preconceived themes that I developed for my data analysis. In addition, I was also opened to the different new themes that emerged from the data as the analysis process continued. Appendix 12 shows the initial list of themes that were identified in this process. These were entered as nodes into Nvivo in anticipation of the full analysis process.

Further reflections on the data and the themes led me to organise the themes more systematically in the direction of identifying the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy of the young people. As a result, the former list was revised (Appendix 13), the nodes in Nvivo were updated accordingly, and the coding process continued. Using Nvivo, more themes were identified and other themes were collated. The theoretical themes of demands, conflicts and conflict resolution which were used to guide the data collection were made into themes/categories for analysing the empirical data from across the different institutional practices and significant others such as peers. The initial plan for the theoretical framework can be seen in Appendix 14 (Version 5). The reciprocal direction of demands, as informed by Hedegaard's work (2012a) was also taken into consideration. This included 'demands put on the adolescents by others', 'demands put on others by the adolescents', and 'self-demand'. This process

was found to be particularly difficult as the idea of 'demands' in relation to academic study was not well developed, let alone understood by me.

'Conflict' was another theme/category that was prepared for the analysis. As can be seen from the list in the appendix 12, conflict was still framed naively as 'conflict between the adolescents and others'. At that stage my understanding of conflicts between contradicting demands and the young people's own desire was still vague. As it evolved, the intent to identify conflict was for analysing the direction of young people's actions during conflict resolution by identifying whether the young people were more inclined towards or away from academic study. Meanwhile, 'other interesting categories' was an open category that was meant to embrace any emerging themes that arose from the data analysis.

As the data analysis process continued, I increasingly felt that I was going nowhere with no significant achievement from the process. I came to realise that I was just identifying and collecting anecdotes to meet/justify the preconceived theoretical themes that I had prepared. With tension building and pressure to move on with data analysis, I tried different approaches, including setting up comparative tables (Appendix 15) and mind maps (Appendix 16). Unfortunately, none of these approaches led me any closer to identifying the motive-orientations, let alone the model of motive hierarchy that I was after in this research. A more detailed reflection of the multiple dead-ends and the build-up of tensions was published in a chapter entitled, 'The binocular moments in my data analysis: A glimpse into my research journey' (Naasirah, 2013).

Reflecting further on the difficulties that I experienced during the data analysis, I would even assert that during that period, the empirical work was driven by a strong enthusiasm but a relatively weak grasp of the theory and its dialectical process. Indeed, the analytical framework was only gradually developing whilst I was working hard to understand the Cultural Historical practice tradition. However, as I eventually came to terms with the idea of empirically-grounded theoretical abstraction and theoretical model development, particularly through the reading of Davydov's (1990) writings, I progressed. The process of theoretical abstraction which corresponds to the 'Reduction' step in the research

protocol (Figure 17, page 106) was achieved relatively more smoothly, as I had become very familiar with my empirical data during the previously daunting process of analysis.

Reduction involves drawing out the basic relations from the empirical abstraction. This step involved trying to (mentally) figure out the relation, with respect to the motive concept. It needed to be universal enough to explain each young people's actions of conflict resolution through the multiple demands across the institutional practices. The relation obtained from this exercise is referred to as the motive-orientation of the respective young people. An intermediary model known as the 'Individual-Practice-Demand Relation' model was dialectically produced from this process. A detailed account of the model can be seen in the following sub-section. The model was not only useful in drawing out the conflict and conflict resolution with regards to the multiple demands in the practice, but it also focussed on the conflict and conflict resolutions with respect to the young people and academic study that this research is interested in investigating. The model could also serve as a strong anchor for future research in guiding the research process right from planning stage (see sub-section 7.2, page 286 for more reflection on this).

The next step involved a 'meta-abstraction', which is the 'abstraction' of the different relations between the motive-orientations. It considers the systemic relation between the motive-orientations that holds them together to form a model, i.e. the Model of Motive Hierarchy. Although these processes were relatively smoother than the initial analysis, there were many dialectic movements between the different stages of data analysis, from initial abstraction to 'meta-abstraction'. Appendix 14 shows the many different drafts version of the model during the reduction process, where there was a constant process of simplification of the relation whilst maintaining that the phenomenon (relation of young people to academic study) could be explained through the simplest systemic relations possible.

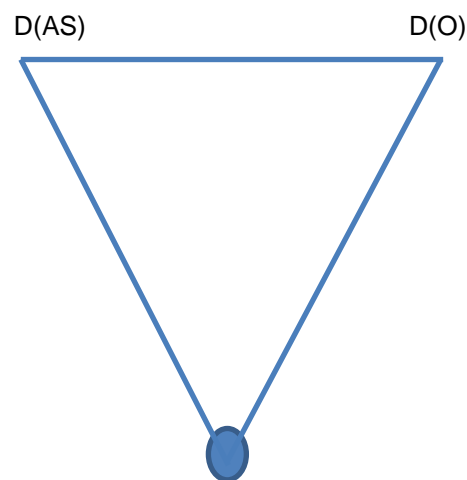
Finally, as can be seen in the Model of Motive Hierarchy (Figure 85, page 226), it was decided that the motive hierarchy could not be represented without showing the relatively importance of the goals, and activity to a person, respectively. The construction of the Model of Motive Hierarchy involved the ‘meta-abstraction’ of the motive-orientations and frequent reference back to the empirical abstraction from the data analysis stage. This was done by constantly ensuring that the Model of Motive Hierarchy represents the systemic internal relation through which young people’s relation to academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam is explained.

The construction of the theoretical model is supported by the empirical evidence in this research, and towards the end, it is tested to explain each of the four SRs who have been selected for detailed analysis. With respect to the research protocol (Figure 17, page 106), this process is considered as part of the process of ascent to the concrete, i.e. to explain the relation of four of the young student researchers to academic study. Although the pattern and structure of the motive-hierarchy is generalised, each of the young people studied has their own motive-hierarchy that explains their own disposition towards academic study. However, as the sample of SRs who were studied in detailed was small, and confined to young women only, it was difficult to make any generalisation of the model. Nevertheless, an interesting pattern can be seen emerging from this limited study already. An account on the representativeness of the sample can be seen in sub-section 7.2.4 on page 290.

4.4.5.3 The Individual-Practice-Demand Relation model

As mentioned earlier, the empirical data needed concern the demands and the corresponding conflicts and conflict resolution experienced by young people in their everyday lives, with respect to academic study in and across the institutional practices. For drawing out such data, the ‘Individual-Practice-Demand relation model’ (Figure 18, page 111) has been constructed to highlight contradictions in

the societal practices. This tool is dialectically derived from my theoretical understanding, the data analysis process and the results of my empirical analyses, as explained in the previous sub-sections. It introduces analytical distinction of the demands in the practices with respect to the demand for academic study activity. It is used to analyse the empirical data that are required for the construction of the model of the motive hierarchy of young people and academic study (the model of the relation). Essentially, the tool captures the theoretical relations between the contradicting demands of the different activities across the different practices that young people participate in.



Keys:



: A young person acting in relation to conflicting demands in the societal practice

D(AS) : Demand from the practices/activities in relation to academic study

D(O) : Demand from the practices/activities in relation to activities other than academic study

Figure 18: The 'Individual-Practice-Demand relation model'.

The intermediate theoretical model is constructed from the inferred essential internal relationships that link contradictions identified earlier in sub-section 3.3 on page 54. With respect to this research's focus on academic study, the demands of the institutional practices are hypothetically categorised into the demand relating to academic study activity, D(AS), which is singled out from the demand relating to activities other than academic study, D(O). The D(O) is

differentiated further and its differentiation is subjected to the different activities that the Student Researchers (SRs) identified through the analysis of the empirical data. The D(AS) is in contradiction with the D(O) in terms of the attribution of the orientation of each of the institutional practices and its activities to the object that satisfy societal needs (Hedegaard, 2009). This is represented as the horizontal line between the D(AS) and the D(O) in the diagram.

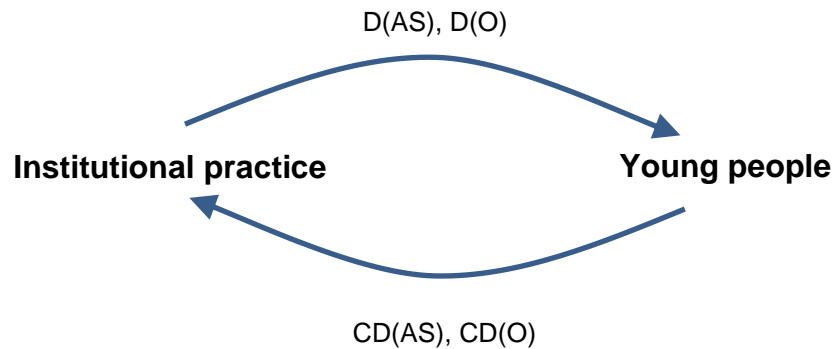
As young people are confronted with these contradicting demands, within and across institutional practice(s) in their everyday lives, they experience conflict and need to constantly deal with it. From the way that the young people resolve these conflicts, their motive-orientations can be inferred. From the inferred motive-orientations, the motive hierarchy will be meta-abstracted. This will be the theoretical model which will be used to describe the relation of young people to academic study.

Leontiev (1978) says that a person can never exist outside a society. This leads to the assumption that a person is always caught in relation to the components that form the society. In the 'Individual-Practice-Demand relation model', the young person is represented by the lower point of the model, which is characterised by his or her motive hierarchy. The lines linking the young person to both the D(AS) and D(O) represent the fact that the young person is always caught between the contradictory demands of the institutional practices which embody the societal practice.

The content of the relationship between the person and the institutional practices is developed from his or her participation in the practices. This can be seen from two perspectives. The first is the demands that the institutional practice imposes on the person, through the person's participation in its activities. In an institutional practice, the objective-motives that the institutional practices are oriented towards motivate its activities and concurrently generate demands in the institutional practices towards its participants. The multiple networks of objective-motives result in multiple demands, whose contradictions generate tension between them. This results in one demand being more dominant than others or the demands competing with each other. These relations refer to the D(AS) and D(O) as well.

When people participate in the different institutional practices, their interactions with the multiple contradicting demands generate the content of their relation to the objective-motive. The objective-motive, according to Leontiev (1978), arouses the activity in the practice, and although people's actions may appear to be oriented towards a goal, they are actually oriented towards this objective-motive. Some of the activities in and across the practices may be more important than others to a given individual. The differential in the importance of the objective-motive of the activities for young people develops from the meaning of the activity according to the personal sense of the young people (Leontiev, 1978), and is represented by the young person's motive-orientation. The differential in the motive-orientations forms the motive hierarchy of the young person.

Second is the demand that participants place on the institutional practice, the so-called counter-demand (CD) in this study that emerged through the analysis of the empirical data in this research. There is consistent evidence that both D(AS) and D(O) exist and are imposed onto young people. However, the empirical data also support the idea that young people are exerting counter-demands (CDs) on the practice too. The CDs are grouped into two categories: first are the CDs in relation to academic study, CD(AS) and second are the CDs in relation to activities other than academic study, CD(O). This finding resonates with the assertion by Hedegaard (2012a) that a person also exerts demands onto others as well as facing demands from others in their everyday activities. The demand (D) is always in dialectic relation with the CD, (D-CD relation) and the existence of the CD, let alone a stronger CD, emphasises the presence and the force of the D. This assertion is supported by empirical data and will be discussed in Chapter 5.2 from page 139. The dynamics of the relation of the demand, (D), and the counter-demands, (CD), are represented by the diagram in Figure 19.



Key:

D(AS): Demand with respect to academic study activity

D(O): Demand with respect to activities other than academic study activity

CD(AS): Counter-demand with respect to academic study activity

CD(O): Counter-demand with respect to activities other than academic study activity

Figure 19: Demand - counter-demand between young people and the institutional practice.

4.4.5.4 Identification of the demands, counter-demands, conflict and conflict resolution

In the construction of the empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study (the model of the relation), the demands and the corresponding conflicts and their resolutions need to be identified. In order to be systematic, some guidelines were developed for the data analysis, to minimise random guesses and enhance the reliability of the research. These guidelines will be presented in this sub-section. During the development of the guidelines, I asked some colleagues to run through a section of the analysis, and their

feedback helped me to improve further the analysis rules and principles. The guidelines in this analysis include the identification of demands, counter-demands, conflicts and conflict resolutions from the empirical data, and a summary of this, with some examples, can be seen in Figure 20, on page 118. To understand the guidelines, the terms used will be clarified here.

Within the framework of the Theory of Activity, demand refers to the connection of young people to the world (Hedegaard, 2012a, 2012b). A child meets demands in activity settings through the child's motive-orientation, in relation to their age-group as well as the demands that the child puts on others in the practice. From analysis of the empirical data, generally demand appears as expectations on young people. With respect to academic study activity, for instance, young people are expected to finish their homework, to get high scores in the examination or to focus fully on their lessons. Some young people need to be reminded many times by others to do the tasks related to the different activities, including academic study activity. However, other young people will do the tasks without being reminded. In fact, they have considered their tasks (both academic and otherwise) and written them down into their daily planner. With respect to the guidelines, the latter example considers the young people to have assumed the demand. In the former example, in contrast, the demand is not assumed by them but was assigned to them. It is an assumption that if the demand in an activity is assumed by the young people, the objective-motive of the particular activity is of sense-making motive to them. This means that the activity is important to them and occupies a relatively higher rank in the motive hierarchy of the person. However, if the demand is an assigned demand, the objective-motive of the activity might be a stimulating motive and occupy a relatively lower rank in the motive hierarchy of the person. The guidelines in Figure 20 on page 118 provide support in identifying the assigned and assumed demands from the empirical data in school institutional practice.

Meanwhile, counter-demand (CD) refers to the expectations that young people have of other people in and across the different practices. The counter-demands may reflect the wants of the young people, and are usually associated with what is important and meaningful to them. From my empirical data, the CD that the

young people have on other people is associated with the perceived role of the others to them. For example, the young people expect teachers to carry out the role of teaching them efficiently. Teachers are expected to be responsible, to be concerned about what the young people understand and to address their individual needs accordingly.

Conflict, on the other hand, is something that is experienced by young people against their will or desire. It may also refer to young people's own conflicting desire that has emerged from the multiple motive-orientations within their motive hierarchy. From the empirical data, conflict often intensifies as aspects like time and resources are limiting for young people. Conflict resolution is the action of the person in dealing with the conflict, an action which could be physical or psychological. However, the actions must be looked at collectively rather than individually, although sometimes individual actions taken by young people may be 'loud' enough to signal their motive-orientation.

Figure 20 summarises the different ways of recognising the demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolution that can be recognised from the empirical data. The summary is gathered from the many rounds of analysis of the empirical data that I have done in this study. The flow chart in Figure 21 on page 119 provides the means of identifying the motive-orientation of the young person in relation to the objective-motive of a given activity.

The different aspects that the empirical data need to be analysed for

How they are recognised

Demand towards young people

1. Assigned demand – Young people have not shouldered the responsibility that is associated with the demand. They need to be persistently reminded about their responsibility, which they may be willing or
-

reluctant to follow. This demand is recognised from:

- a. Explicit instruction given to young people;
- b. Young people showing that they are unhappy and unwilling to participate in the activity;
- c. The activity concerned not being of priority to the young person, and easily compromised for another activity; and
- d. Young people concurring with the demands because of societal norms.

2. Assumed demand – young people assume responsibility in relation to the demands, and their respective actions portray their willingness to participate in the related activities, for instance:

- a. Young people participate in the activity without grievances, thereby showing their willingness;
- b. Young people show extra initiative in relation to the demand; and
- c. The activity is of priority for the young people and other activities are compromised for it.

Counter-demand (from young people towards institutional practices)	<p>1. Counter-demand may be recognised when young people do not receive a certain aspect of services and support that they perceive as their right, or the right that they deserve. For instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Young people complain about peers or siblings who are not supportive of them in the task that they are doing; andb. Young people complain about teachers who do not meet their expectations in terms of teaching or even supporting them emotionally;c. Young people compliment the help, support and
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	understanding from others towards the task they are doing.
Conflict	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. These could be identified from the presence of multiple demands from the institutional practices, the emotional description of the experience of demands through expression of intentions, thoughts and private internal dialogue of the person. For instance: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Activities that compete for the same slot of time that the young people have; b. Activities that compete for the attention and energy of the young person; c. Intensity of conflict that can be sensed from the young people's emotions and complaints around negotiating the conflicts;
Conflict resolution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The resolution of conflict can be seen from at least two aspects: 1st - assumed and assigned responsibility; 2nd - the willingness involved in the conflict resolution. For instance, these can be recognised <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. In terms of time – what activity gets priority when young people manage their time; b. Which activities get compromised; and c. The thoughts and emotions of the young people around the negotiation of a conflict.

Figure 20: Guidelines for analysing the empirical data for demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolution.

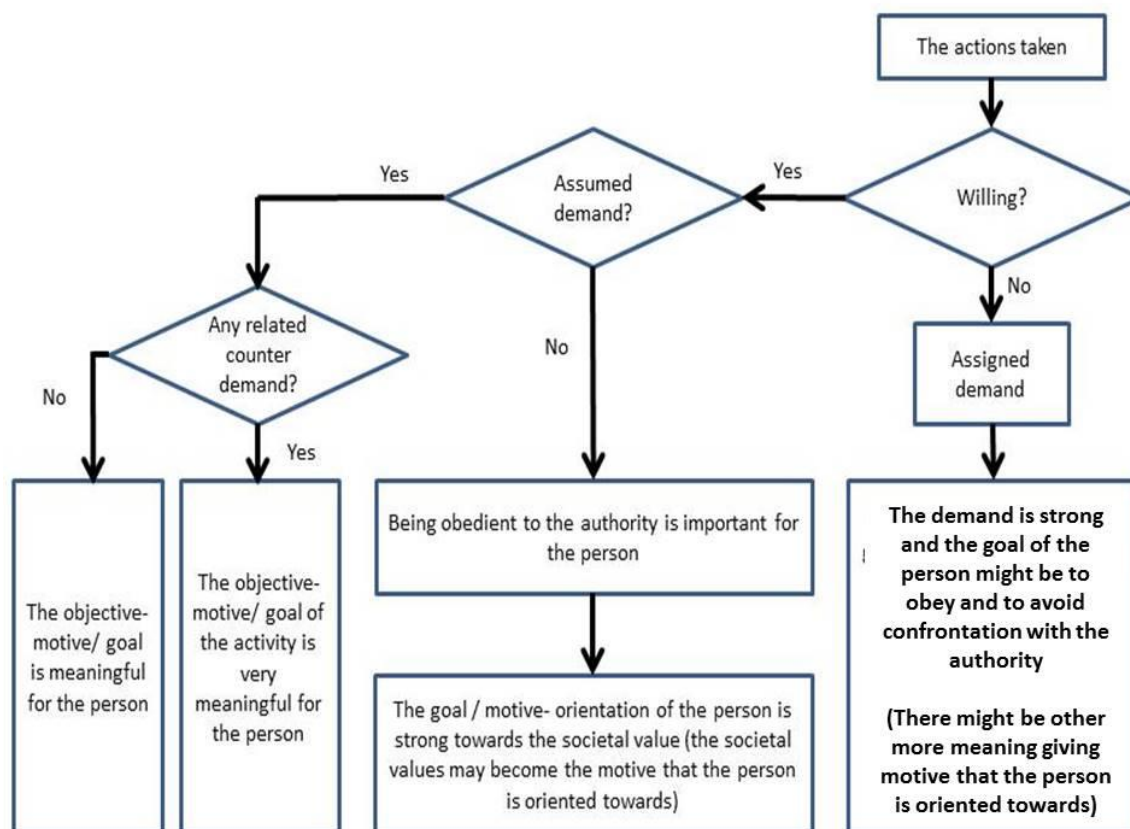


Figure 21: Flowchart for determining the dominance of the motive-orientation from the action of conflict resolution.

Central to the identification of the motive-orientation is the willingness of young people to participate in a given activity, including academic study. Their willingness can be identified from their actions and/or the corresponding expression of emotion. For instance, if young people show reluctance or anger towards doing a certain activity, these are signs of their unwillingness to do the activity. When they are unwilling, the activity that they are participating in is in conflict with another activity that is more important and meaningful for them.

On the other hand, if they do not complain, do not show negative emotion and are happy to do the task for the given activity, these are signs of their willingness to participate in the activity. Their willingness shows their positive motive-orientation towards the objective-motive of the activity. The motive-orientation can be further differentiated into relatively more dominant or less dominant from how the young people assume the demands. A relatively more dominant motive-orientation will

see the young people assuming the demand of the activity. There will be evidence of extra effort volunteered by the young people to ensure they complete the activity-related tasks. The manifestation of the counter-demand in relation to the activity further supports my conclusion of the presence of a relatively dominant motive. In contrast, a relatively less dominant motive-orientation will be evidenced when the young people show no objection yet sometimes need to be reminded to do the activity-related task. With such differentiated motive-orientation in terms of their relative dominance, the young person's motive hierarchy can be drawn. The motive hierarchy of young people is the empirically-grounded theoretical model that explains the relation of young people to academic study.

4.5 Ethical considerations in the overall research design

There is always a tension between knowledge production and personal consent from the participants in a piece of research (Chaiklin, pers. comm, 25th April, 2013). The rationale for this is that the participants would not be disturbed if this research were not carried out (ibid). This makes it imperative for a researcher to reduce any form of risk that their research may pose for the participants. In relation to the potential risks, this research has made an ethical commitment to consider the rights and responsibilities of both the participants and the research, including me as the researcher.

It is important to note that the SRs' involvement as co-researchers is crucial in this research as they are part of the phenomenon that I am studying. However, this does not make them equal partners in terms of decision making or authority, as was the case in the evaluative study of the Girl Study Girl Inc., (Chen & Weiss, 2010) which emphasised giving full voices to the girls and young women in their research. My rights as the main researcher and their rights as co-researchers were made clear at the beginning of the training session. This was done not only as an ethical commitment but also to assert the roles and responsibilities of each of the parties in this research.

Fundamentally, the rights of research participants are covered within the revised ethical guidelines from the British Education Research Association (BERA, 2011) and the University of Bath Ethics Committee, which this research adheres to. Appendix 17 shows the approved ethical form from the committee that allows this research to proceed. Following these ethical guidelines, regardless of the age of the SRs, consent was obtained from their parents for them to join this research. Nonetheless, the young people are part of the phenomenon and their willingness to commit to this research was central to its success. A point was made that the young people's informed consent should be obtained, although they had already basically agreed verbally to be part of the research. The informed consent was acquired after a thoroughly open and very informal briefing and discussion session, conducted during the pre-research training, about the research, their role and the expectations of them. During that briefing, the young people's rights and responsibilities, as well as my rights and responsibilities, were discussed. The PowerPoint presentation for the session can be seen in Appendix 4 (Slides 9 – 12) and the translation can be seen in Figure 22 on page 124. Indeed, ensuring that the research participants were clear about the scope of the research is not only ethical but also contributes towards minimising the possibility of issues of self-censorship and power relations arising, as experienced by Fine and her research team (see Fine et al., 2003). However, reflecting on the responses of the SRs in sharing their experiences for this research, there are still many of them who do not share 'enough' useful information for this research to tap on (Appendix 2). I decided to drop these SRs at the 'Ascent' stage, while others were removed as early as the 'Reduction' stage with respect to the protocol for developing the empirically-grounded theoretical model of young people's relation to academic study (Figure 17, page 106). A further discussion on the selection of the SRs from the sample of 13 young people can be seen in sub-section 4.4.1 from page 66.

Clearly establishing the rights of the participants was done to protect the SRs and to maintain their anonymity, as was my responsibility as the Main Researcher. In order to ensure that the identity of the SRs was protected, each SR was issued with a code at the beginning of the data collection session. During the data

collection session, all of the SRs knew each other's codes. During the analysis and subsequent writing up of this research and future related research, however, nicknames have been used to replace the codes. By using nicknames instead of codes, the SRs will not be able to identify other SRs should they read this thesis or any related writing in the future. This measure concurs with Chaiklin's (pers. comm, 25th April, 2013) assertion that ethical commitment is a permanent relationship between the researcher and the research participants. It is hoped that such a measure will minimise the risk of the SRs feeling uncomfortable, as the interpretation of their relation to academic study will not be exposed to the public, or to the other SRs participating in this research. Indeed, protection of the SRs' identity has been extended through the decision not to use their real names for any publication related to this research, although they had given their permission for this. This decision was made to avoid any potential emotional or psychological harm that the report or writing of this research may inadvertently have caused.

The pledge to protect the SRs from any harm this research may have caused can be seen in the SRs' first and third rights, and is also reflected in the Main Researcher's second responsibility (Figure 22, page 124). These measures provide the SRs freedom to withdraw some of the information they have provided, or to withdraw fully from this research. However, in order to protect my right as the Main Researcher, their decision to withdraw can only be taken before this thesis is published. The difficulties and complications that I would face should they decide to withdraw when this thesis had been submitted, or just beforehand, were explained to the SRs.

On the other hand, in the interest of knowledge production, my rights as the Main Researcher need to be maintained too. This implies that the SRs need to assume at least the responsibilities listed in Figure 22 on page 124. Apart from these, I also hold the right to determine the direction of the SRs' research to ensure their research is in line with this research. This is also in congruence with the participatory component of the semi-participatory research design that this research takes (see sub-section 4.2 from page 59). I also hold the rights to all

the data and the interpretation of the data about the SRs from my theoretical perspective in relation to this research (Figure 22, page 124).

As a matter of fact, since the SRs were conducting their own focus group discussions (FGDs), the ethical considerations were also extended to their participants. Appendix 18 shows the text that was prepared for the SRs to take to the FGDs with their own participants. Similar to the idea of the balance of rights and responsibilities between the SRs and me as the Main Researcher, the text was expanded and extended to the rights and responsibilities of the SRs and their research participants.

At the end of the data collection session, a debriefing session was conducted with the purpose of reducing any uncomfortable feelings that might have developed from any matters during the data collection session that had been overlooked. The SRs were offered different ways to reach me, including email and telephone, in case they needed to talk about anything during the data collection process that might have bothered them in any way. They were also informed about counselling services that were offered in their respective schools, should these be required.

SRs' rights

1. To withdraw all or part of the information provided at any time before the PhD thesis of the Main Researcher is finished, by informing the Main Researcher by telephone, email or letter;
2. To allow their real name or nickname to be used in any writing in extension of this research;
3. To withhold information that is considered very intimate and will make them (the SR) feel uncomfortable; and
4. To be named in any form of publication which uses data collected by the respective

SRs' responsibilities

1. To share information in different forms, including verbal, written and
-

visual;

2. To discuss with integrity and enthusiasm during all of the planned activities; and
3. To give full cooperation throughout this research, i.e. until the thesis of the Main Researcher is done.

Main Researcher's responsibilities

1. To obtain my (the SR's) permission to use the intimate information (that I have provided) for the purpose of the research and related research presentation;
2. To stop using all or some of my information immediately, if I withdraw my consent before her PhD thesis is done; and
3. To keep all information that has the potential to reveal my identity confidential as far as possible.

Main Researcher's rights

1. To determine the direction of the SRs' research to be in line with the Main Researcher's research;
2. To interpret all the information about me (SR) according to the needs of the Main Researcher;
3. To keep all data related to the SR;
4. To contact me (SR) should there be any need arising from this research.

Figure 22: A list of the Students Researchers' (SRs) and the Main Researcher's rights and responsibilities as discussed on the first day of the three-day pre-research training session (translated from presentation slides 9 -12) - See Appendix 4.

5. Analysis I – supporting the development of the model of young people's relation to academic study

The purpose of this chapter is to respond to the first research sub-question (Section 1.1, page 22) where it will focus on understanding the dynamic of the various demands in relation to the demands on academic study that are experienced by the young people in Brunei Darussalam. In doing so, the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation model (see Figure 18, page 111) has been developed, through which the analysis of the empirical data is more focussed. In return, through the process of the data analysis and interpretation, the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation model continued to be refined. The dialectic between the data analysis and the development of the model is a constant dynamic that underlies the effort to understand the conflicting demands across the different institutional practices that are imparted on the young people. This chapter however will focus on presenting the contradicting demands that are experienced by the young women in Brunei Darussalam, in response to the first research sub-question.

Before the presentation of the manifestation of the demands for academic study in the practice, this chapter will start with an analysis of social practice in the context of Brunei Darussalam. This initiative is inspired by the holistic approach (see Section 2.1, page 28) which anchored Hedegaard's model (Figure 1, page 30). The aim of this analysis is to discuss the broader societal context and to suggest the societal objects which the objective-motives of the different institutional practices might be oriented towards. The analysis will also provide cultural historical insights into some of the relevant traditions of practice as a way to understand the demands in the institutional practices for both demand for academic study, D(AS) and demand for other than academic study D(O).

The presentation will continue to present evidence of the D(AS) and D(O) in the family institutional practice and the school institutional practice as experienced by the young women, Student Researchers (SR) in this study. The discussion will gradually bring in the contradictions between the demands in the practice and their dialectic relation to the counter-demand (CD) from the young people towards the practice. Within the family institutional practice, there are three main activities

identified: out-of-school academic study activity, family maintenance activity and family bonding activity. Meanwhile, in the school institutional practice, the activities identified are academic study activity and co-curricular activity (CCA).

There are also two phenomena emerging from the analysis of the data. First is the orientation of the young people's motive towards the societal value system. In this relation, the societal value system which generally serves as the guiding principle for the functioning of society has become the object towards which the young people are oriented. The second emerging phenomenon is the self-comfort related motive-orientation. It is evidenced in the analysis that self-comfort related activities, i.e. activities that are related to leisure, are hierarchically more meaningful for young people relative to other activities such as academic study or other activities in the practices.

5.1 A societal analysis of Brunei Darussalam

This section traces, with respect to academic study, the motive relation between the societal object of Brunei Darussalam and the objective-motives of the two different institutional practices: the school institution and the family institution. The aim of this analysis is to support the development of a theoretical model of the relation between young people and academic study (the model of the relation) from a societal level analysis. From the analysis, the demand for academic study (D(AS)) and the demand for activities other than academic study (D(O)) are not just demands as they appear in the institutional practices and before the young people, but they are also historically linked to the societal object of the country.

This section starts with a discussion about the *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB – Malay Islamic Monarchy) as the cultural and historically developed tradition that forms the core of the value system as well as one of the societal objects of the country. This continues to the orientation of school and family institutional practices towards societal needs. In addition, the discovery of oil and gas in the country has promoted economic growth and development. This development has led to demands on the country's people. Other specific traditions of practices discussed in this section are the close tie of kinship, living in extended families verses the nuclear family, and the trend of high-standard stylish living. The tradition of

practices identified and presented here will be elaborated on further in the analysis of the young participants in this study in the next section.

5.1.1 Brunei Darussalam and its national MIB philosophy

Brunei Darussalam is a small country located on the north of Borneo Island in the South East Asia region, sharing its border with two states of Malaysia: Sabah and Sarawak. With a size of 5765 km² and GDP per capita of BND 40.700 (2008), the country had a population of around 414,400 people in 2010 (Government of Brunei Darussalam, 2011). As an Islamic country, 'negligible' in its geographical size, with the production of oil and gas as its sole source of economic income and ruled by an absolute monarchy, there is a need to maintain stability in politics and economics. This stability is important in upholding the sovereignty of the country, especially when historical events challenge its monarchical system. One of these challenges was the event leading to the uprising movement by Partai Ra'ayat Brunei (People's Party of Brunei, PRB) in December 1962 (Stockwell, 2004).

I would assert that economic and politic stability is considered to be the object that satisfies the needs of the country to maintain its sovereignty. As such, the object that satisfies the needs of a subject is called its motive (see Leontiev, 1978). This assertion is evidenced by activities in institutional practices such as economic diversification initiatives to reduce the country's dependency on the production of oil and gas. Meanwhile, these different activities also sub-ordinate the motive, which means the activities are oriented in the direction of the motive.

Brunei has a strong Islamic, Malay, and monarchical tradition, which can be traced back to the first *sultan* (king) of the country, Awang Alak Betatar, who embraced Islam and changed his name to Sultan Muhammad Shah in the year 1368 (Idris, 2013). These values, which date back to the fifteenth century (Upex, 2007; Idris, 2013) were re-stated during the proclamation of independence by the Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah on the 1st January 1984, as *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB, Malay Islamic Monarchy) (Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, 1984). This unique philosophy integrates politics, economics, culture and education (Upex, 2007) and is the best way of describing the values of Brunei society (Mani, 1993).

His Majesty, the current monarch, has emphasised these values elsewhere, for example during his 1993 New Year's Eve message:

(...) it was not the celebration which was the main goal, but more importantly what will be linked to history is the fact of our existence as a sovereign and civilised race in accordance with the glory of the Malay Muslim Monarchy philosophy, of which we are proud

(Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, 1993)

The thrust of MIB is in its Islamic component. The Islamic component becomes the guiding principle as well as acting as a form of 'armour' (*benteng*), which makes the 'Malay' and 'Monarchy' components act in accordance with the command of Allah (God the Almighty) (Pehin Haji Abdul Aziz, Ministry of Education, 1992). In relation to upholding the MIB values, there has been continuous effort in the country to ensure that its people adhere to Islamic principles in their lives. On many different occasions, the current monarch has reminded his people of the importance of adhering to the practice of Islam and spiritual development, in relation to the need to balance rapid economic and material development (Sounders, 1997:76-77). In the context of Brunei Darussalam, MIB has set out to be central to societal practice, both as the societal motive as well as the value system that arouses the activities in the school and family institutional practices. I would assert that, given how strongly it is anchored in the cultural history of the society, MIB is not only a value system but also a means of maintaining the stability of this small nation.

5.1.2 The education system in Brunei

The need to maintain the economic and political stability of Brunei Darussalam is also reflected in the country's Vision 2035 (Government of Brunei Darussalam, 2007b). In the Vision 2035, it is stipulated that Brunei Darussalam will be recognised as having highly skilled and knowledgeable manpower, a high quality of life, and a dynamic and stable economy. These visions can only be achieved if the country is economically and politically stable (Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, 2013).

In the Vision 2035, education is clearly one of the central means of achieving the country's aspirations. Education has long been 'the first and pressing necessity in Brunei' (Bevington, 1956:39, as cited by Horton, 1995:102, footnote). The education sector has received a significant share of the budget in all of the country's National Development Plans (Opai, 2007). For instance, it received the highest share (12.5%) of the total expenditure in the Third National Development Plan (1975-79) (Economic Planning Unit, 1977, as cited by Opai, 2007). In orientation to the motive of the country, the Ministry of Education responded by distinctly stipulating the vision of its education system as: 'Quality Education towards a Developed, Peaceful and Prosperous Nation' (MoE, 2012). This vision for education is broken down into the quality of education that the ministry envisions delivering, as can be seen in Figure 23.

The Ministry of Education is committed to developing and providing quality education, which has the following characteristics, for present and future generations of Brunei citizens.

- Moulding individuals within our society to be balanced and well-rounded.
- Developing the personal attributes (spiritual, mental, physical and aesthetic values, leadership, entrepreneurship, morale) of the students.
- Producing team players, caring individuals, good communicators, accountable and responsible citizens.
- Producing an education system of international standard, which fosters valuable and marketable skills, and encourages a life-long learning orientation that will contribute to a harmonious and politically stable society.
- Setting the foundation for a knowledge-based economy.
- Improving students' learning achievements comparable with international standards.

Figure 23: The characteristics of the quality education that Brunei Ministry of Education is striving to achieve (Source: The Ministry of Education, Strategic Plan, 2012-2017, Brunei Darussalam)

At the same time, the government of His Majesty of Brunei Darussalam practises strategic planning (PMO, 2004) on a nationwide scale using the Balanced Scorecard tool. The Strategic Planning and Balanced Scorecard tools are

business performance tools made popular by Robert S. Kaplan in 1999. My impression of these tools is that they have made some of the strands of the theoretical motive relations between the societal motive and the objective-motive of the institutional practices explicit and expressed at the empirical level. For instance, the Strategic Planning tool ensures that the national agenda is supported by each of the ministries and departments in the civil service through the process of cascading. Meanwhile, the Balanced Scorecard is used to track the performance of each of the departments in the different ministries. In Brunei, these tools are widely used to keep track of different initiatives in the different departments of the respective ministries and to ensure that these are implemented in support of the vision and mission of the respective ministries and ultimately in meeting the country's Vision 2035.

Through these tools, the vision and strategy of the Ministry of Education is cascaded down further into the different school institutions in the country, where the success of planned programmes are monitored. As an example, School K's New Teacher Programme handbook includes the strategy map of the Department of Schools in addition to information about School K, its core values, vision and mission as vital information in the induction programme for new/incoming teachers. School K therefore considers the vision and the strategy map of the Ministry of Education in the country as one of the most important documents for their new teachers. What is more, following the principles in the Balanced Scorecard (Kaplan, 1996), the school institution has also drawn its own strategy map, with the school's core values, vision and mission, in orientation to the Ministry of Education's strategy map.

The information above is evidence that School K's institutional objective-motive is not only oriented towards the Ministry of Education's vision and mission, but also that it is cascaded down to teachers in the school. In addition, it is assumed here that School K is not the only school oriented towards the objective-motive of the Ministry of Education, but that all school institutions in Brunei are too. This is possible due to the highly centralised nature of the Ministry of Education in the country, as suggested by Majeed, Fraser and Aldridge (2002) and Abu Bakar (1999).

At the school institution level, schools are expected to mobilise their respective teams to deliver not only the formal academic curriculum, but also the country's ideology through both the formal and informal curriculum, as well as the activity settings of the school institutions themselves. Teachers are expected to represent the school in implementing the various school programmes, including the teaching and learning programme. In the rest of the Induction Programme for new teachers in School K other aspects of the school that new teachers are expected to know about are included. These include the operational procedures of the school, expectations in relation to the teaching-learning process, internal and external assessment for students, student academic monitoring procedures and administration of the school. The content of School K's Induction Programme indicates the school's intention to absorb new teachers seamlessly into its practices, which include its shared values and procedures. This is to ensure that new teachers will be part of the school institution in fulfilling its role with respect to the societal motive. The intention to support national aspirations is emphasised and published in School K's teachers' handbook, '*in order to ensure their (the new teachers') success and the success of student achievement*'. The impact of these processes on the students depends on the actions of teachers and the students acting according to the school's expectations. The empirical analysis of the data (Section 5.2, page 139) shows this impact from the perspective of the young people participating in this research. If a teacher chooses to act in relation to the school demand, students will benefit from the teaching and interaction with the intended goals. If a teacher chooses not to act, meaning if the teacher ignores their responsibilities, young people with dominant academic study-related motive-orientation will be disappointed. This is because they also see the teacher as being responsible for teaching and helping them, including to perform well in their examination. In fact, this expectation towards teachers forms the counter-demand from the young people towards their teacher. So whether the teachers choose to act or not to act according to the expectations of them by the school institution, the young people will be impacted in one way or another.

So far, this section has traced the motive with respect to academic study from the societal level to the school institution level. As activity in the practices is always

oriented towards the motive (Leontiev. 1978; Hedegaard, 2009; Chakilin, 2011b), performance management tools such as Strategic Planning and Balanced Scorecard provide a structure for such orientation. However, since practices always exist regardless of any performance management tools, the latter are seen as formally emphasising the demands from society towards the practices. The tools also highlight the Brunei Government's priorities, which the respective government agencies need to be oriented towards.

The Strategic Planning and Balanced Scorecard tools apply only to activities related to the expectation of societal demands that emerged and were addressed in the strategic plan. However, other activities that are not regarded as highly important in the strategic plan, or those activities that are not addressed in the strategic plan, still exist concurrently in the practices. These activities may come into contradiction with other activities in the same or across different practices. For example, classroom teaching and learning activities are activities that exist in the school institutional practice, and with the implementation of the Strategic Planning and Balanced Scorecard tools, it becomes part of the activity through which its performance is monitored. Another activity that is in contradiction with classroom teaching and learning activity could be friendship activity. For instance, this may appear as students not paying attention to the teacher teaching because they are talking to their friends about some other non-academic study matters. This example shows that friendship activity, which is not part of the strategic plan that the school institution is adhering to, comes in conflict with teaching and learning in the classroom.

5.1.3 The family institution in Brunei

The analysis so far has used the school institution as the means of tracing the motive relation between the societal level and the institutional practice level. The same motive relations are expected for other institutional practices too, such as the family institution. In Brunei Darussalam, the family institution is seen as an integral unit of society and its healthy functioning is of great concern to society. For instance, the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports recently urged people to take the opportunity of the newly-approved three-day-long *Eid Fitr* holiday to foster family kinship through visiting each other and to educate the younger

generation about the importance of family values which indirectly contribute towards the peace and unity of the country (MCYS, 2013). Like the school institution, family institutional practices are also oriented towards the societal motive through their objective-motive. The activities in family institutions are generated in orientation towards these objective-motives. The demands associated with these activities are then exerted on family members as they participate in the family institutional practice. In this thesis, through the analysis of the empirical data, family activities are grouped into three categories of activities: off-school academic study activity, family maintenance activity and family bonding activity.

In orienting towards the Brunei Vision 2035, family institutions are responsible for ensuring the academic success of their children so as to support the country's aspirations. This may be an oversimplified way of summarising the motive relation between the societal motive and the objective-motive of the family institution, but it is not the primary focus of this thesis to explore such relations in great detail. It is more central to highlight here that, like the school institution, there is also demand for academic study, D(AS), in the family institution, which corresponds to the family institution orienting towards the societal object. The D(AS) in the family may also be acquired simultaneously through the demand from the school institution directly on the child and indirectly on the family. The latter source of D(AS) in the family is an example of 'crossed paths' between institutional practices through participation of young people across the different institutional practices.

A person participating in an activity will be oriented towards the objective-motive of the institution, as well as indirectly oriented towards the societal objective. However, the person confronts the activity through his past experiences and future orientation (Bozhovich, 1999), as well as from his own motive-orientation (Leontiev, 1978; Hedegaard, 2009). The interaction of the person in activities across the different practices becomes the context for the development of the model of young people's relation to academic study. The multiple demands that the young people in this study experience across the practices are analysed in this chapter. The actions of the young people in resolving the conflicts generated

by the multiple demands are then analysed for their motive-orientation, and this will be presented in the next chapter, Analysis II.

5.1.4 The discovery of oil and the evolution of Bruneian society

The discovery of oil in Brunei in 1929 (Brown, 1984; Horton, 1986) led to a very interesting cultural historical development in Bruneian society. According to Horton (1986), Brunei only started to export its oil in 1932, after which it rose quickly to become one of the richest oil producers in the British Commonwealth. Development in Brunei, however, came to a halt during the Japanese occupation of 1942-1945. During the war, some of the oilfields were torched by the Japanese, while others were destroyed by the British to prevent access by the Japanese (Horton, 1986). The Japanese occupation not only brought oil production and exportation to a stop, but also meant that the infrastructure that was developing in Brunei Town except for Kampong Ayer (the Water Village in Brunei Town), was flattened due to intensified bombing in October 1944. A massive effort was put into reinstating and expanding the economy and services in the country in the post-war period, and Jones (2009) noted that the revenue from oil exportation rose to the point that Brunei was on its way to becoming the small oil-rich country that it is today. The development of the country in the pre-war period and its restoration and expansion in the post-war period gradually changed the physical landscape of Brunei and also its society.

Kampong Ayer was one of the earliest settlement areas for the people in Brunei. It was the ancient capital that was built over the shallow Brunei River (Blunt, 1988). From the prosperity that came together with the revenues from its oil industries, the new capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, was built on the opposite land. Apart from improvements to quality of life due to good supply of utilities and bridges, the people from Kampong Ayer were also continuously encouraged to resettle ashore (Blunt, 1988; Horton, 1986). From the rapid development of Brunei Town, supported by the revenue from the oil business, and the continuous effort of the government to improve the quality of life of its people by persuading them to move to land, I am inferring that there was significant resettlement of the people in Brunei Town from a water-based settlement to a land-based residency at that time.

It was perhaps during those times that people started to acquire big pieces of land in anticipation that these would accommodate their descendants a few generations later. I suppose these actions are supported by the values of communitarianism and of low individualism. Communitarianism, according to Minnis (1999), is a value shared by Confucian East Asia, Buddhist and Islamic countries. It is a value that prioritises family and community over the individual. Low individualism is one of the values of Bruneian society identified by Blunt (1988) using the Hofstede framework. This value is characterised by a collectivist culture where the close-knit kinship relationship, that of extended family, clan or organisation, is of priority. A societal practice that supports this value promotes the protection of each member's interest in return for members' loyalty. As a result of the resettlement ashore by possessing large pieces of land, and in the interest of maintaining close kinship with family and relatives, siblings now often live next to each other and build houses on the same piece of big land. As a result, the current generations of cousins and close relatives grow up together in relatively close proximity. This research is indeed fortunate that two of its Student Researchers (SRs), Ruby and Anna, come from this type of family setting, although only Ruby provided a more complete picture of the family setting that she lives in. This is one of the reasons for Ruby's relation to be presented in the next chapter instead of Anna (see Appendix 2). Through Ruby's example, the context of living with extended family is one of the aspects of the discussion of the demand with respect to academic study, D(AS). This can be seen in sub-section 5.2.1.8 on page 159. Another SR in this research, Suzy, comes from Kampong Ayer. She also lives around her relatives. This would have made a good case for comparison, but unfortunately she did not provide sufficient data for such analysis. This is the main reason that Suzy's case is dropped from the presentation in the next chapter, where their relation to academic study is discussed (Appendix 2). Perhaps future research (see sub-section 7.1.2 from page 277) with the intention of exploring family traditions in the Bruneian context could explore different family traditions at micro-level in order to continue to build on the model of young people's relation to academic study.

Apart from contributing to the general development of the country, the oil industry also brought in foreign workers, who mostly inhabited the oil town of Seria. This

made the town distinct from the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, which was generally populated by Malays. In order to be able to communicate with the foreigners, Jones (2009) said that the locals made an effort to learn English. The first recorded English lesson was in 1928 (McKerron, 1929, as cited by Jones, 2009) and was attended by government subordinate staff and the police. These were largely locals who represented the government in negotiation with regards to setting up the oil industry. I would assume, as part of these activities that people started to move from the capital to settle in the oil town. People may have moved out and started their own life and family in Seria, independent from their larger family, a mark of the start of the nuclear family tradition in Brunei. Brown (1984) noted this trend in Brunei and referred to it as part of Western culture that was seeping into Brunei. In the West, the nuclear family tradition evolved in response to the industrial revolution that called for relocation of family members to start their own families themselves (Smith, 1993). In a similar trend, I would assert that the tradition of the nuclear family continues in contemporary Brunei society either as a direct response to the oil industry, or to the ever-increasing socio-economic demands caused by the development of the country.

A nuclear family, according to Smith (1993) and Bengtson (2001), consists of a simple family of two parents and their children. The nuclear family tradition in Brunei, however, does not tend to come close to this simplistic family composition. Newly set up independent families are inclined to take in their younger siblings or elderly family members. This societal practice is vividly illustrated in the research by Hasharina, Izie, Khairunnisa, Yong and Hairuni (unpublished), in their paper entitled 'Cultural Consideration in Vertical Living in Brunei Darussalam'. A finding from their research that is important in supporting my argument is that of people's living preferences, which I have tabulated for this thesis (Table 1, page 137). Except for the last two preferences, which are lowest in terms of priority, the findings show very strongly the prevalence of kinship and extended family values in society. Although the family seek to live on their own as a nuclear family, having a new home that is suitable to accommodate extended family members is still of primary concern.

Table 1: The living preferences of people in Brunei with prospects of vertical housing (Extracted and tabulated from Hasharina et al. (unpublished).

<i>Living preferences in terms of priority</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Living independently, perhaps with siblings or companions	27.7%
A home for their “young family with elderly members”	23.2%
A home for their “large family”	23.8%
A home for their “young family”	18.0%
Investing in vertical housing or having a second or temporary residence	2.6%

To add to this point further, I know from my own experiences that even if the nuclear family does not take in members of their extended family to live with them, the tie of kinship is still strengthened in many other ways including frequent visits and family gatherings. This is generally relatively easier to do in Brunei than elsewhere due to the small size of the country. Frequent family gatherings are a key part of societal traditions. These include elaborate wedding functions, religious functions and more contemporary functions such as birthday celebrations, graduation celebrations, or informal barbeque gatherings at weekends. These gatherings are so frequent that they could easily take up almost every weekend for most people, if not every other weekend. Indeed, in Brunei, the extended family dominates the individual’s daily life in defining, protecting and making demands on the individual (Yusof, 2003). This is reflected in this research which found that family practices with respect to the extended family revolve around young people’s academic study. The details of this discussion are in sub-section 5.2.1.7 on page 154. With respect to constructing a theoretical model to study the relation of young people to academic study, these family practices are considered the ‘demand for activities other than academic study’, D(O), for young people.

In addition, the discovery of oil in Brunei has led to gradual changes to lifestyle in the country. Brown (1984) noted in the early 1980s that new shopping centres had emerged to rival those in the neighbouring country of Singapore in offering goods to the people in Brunei. During that time, around thirty years ago, there was one car to every four people, which was the highest rate in Southeast Asia. This increased to around one car to every two people in 2008 (The World Bank, 2013). This development might have been supported by the country's continuous initiatives to improve the quality of life of its people, as mentioned in every five-year National Development Plan of Brunei (Opai, 2007). A 'big spender' attitude and 'living beyond one's means' are slowly emerging as a reality that the government has to deal with by curbing excessive spending, even on credit terms. By the end of 2010, personal loans in the country accounted for a majority of 64.6% of all loans, as reported by the Oxford Business Group (Goh, 2012 accessed 14.02.2013).

From another perspective, in a somewhat remote and overgeneralised sense, the people of Brunei are described as being laidback. Upex (2007) asserted that Bruneians are generally said to be lacking motivation to succeed or a sense of competition. Many of these people are working in the most desirable jobs in Brunei, in the public sector (Upex, 2007). Poor performers in the public sector tend to be left alone because of people's tendency to avoid confrontations (Richards, 1991). Upex (2007) labelled jobs in the public sector as 'sinecure for life' jobs, because of the job security and incentives given, despite imbalanced production or effort in return. These attitudes, however, have not escaped the attention of our monarch. There are many instances where the issue has been addressed in the monarch's speeches. In his first ever *Khutbah* (Sermon), for example, he called upon the people of the country to gear up and support the development of the country whilst enhancing their *ibadat* (acts of piety) and knowledge:

If we are short of *ibadat* (acts of piety), we should increase them; if our knowledge is still minimal, we should seek to acquire more of it; if development is slow, we should speed it up; and if one still adopts a lazy

attitude, it should be eliminated, and in its place, an industrious attitude should be encourage on a continual basis.

(Sultan Haji Hassanah Bolkiah, 1992)

With the challenges that face the country as a result of development and modernisation, the role of education in upholding and perpetuating the MIB values is even more crucial and urgent. The pressing needs to address the values of the people, as well as supplying relevant human resources, are again putting the country's education under the spotlight. As an implication, 'high attainment', 'well-rounded and values-driven individuals', 'marketable and entrepreneurial individuals', and 'optimised funds and costs' are high on the agenda of the Ministry of Education Strategy Map 2012-2017 (Appendix 1). The intended outcomes are translated into demands for schools as institutions, as well as projected towards the students, whose performance in examinations, at the end of the day, indicates the success of the Ministry of Education's strategy.

5.2 An analysis of the empirical data for the D(AS) and D(O) across the practices

This section presents a summary of the dynamics of the demands across the different practices, including the demand for academic study activity, D(AS), and demand for other than academic study activity, D(O). These demands and their dynamics are analysed from the empirical data according to the protocols and principles outlined in sub-section 4.4.5 on page 100. Following the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) and the guidelines for identifying the D(AS)s in the institutional practices, the multiple contradicting demands that were experienced by the young people were identified and discussed. From the analysis of the empirical data, a need arose to further differentiate the activity in the family institutional practice into family maintenance and family bonding activities so that the demands experienced by the young people could be studied further. In the school institutional practice, however, the D(O)s exist as the activities that are oriented towards the objective-motive of producing well-rounded students, such as school clubs. Another D(O) that exists in school is friendship activity, which can support or contradict academic study

activity. Other emerging D(O)s are the demands for self-comfort related activities, which are generally young people's self-inflicted demands and include activities that are of an entertainment and 'off-task' nature.

The summary of the demands of the respective activities can be seen in Figure 24 on page 142. In the figure, the D(AS) and D(O) in both the family and school institutional practices can be seen in the first two columns. The third column gives the objective-motive which each of the demands is thought to have developed from, and which the young people are expected to be oriented towards. The respective examples of the corresponding activities are given in the last column.

The purpose of this section is to show and discuss evidence from the empirical data of the existence and manifestation of the various demands across the different practices. Demands in the family practice will be presented first and followed by demands in the school practice. For each practice, the different ways in which D(AS) and D(O) are manifested are presented with evidence from the empirical data.

The demands	Institutions	Objective-motive	Examples of the activities/tasks
D(AS) (Demand in relation to academic study)	School and Family	Academic study	In school – classroom activities, expectation that young people should focus during lessons and submit homework, good attendance. At home – off-school academic study activities and expectation that young people are doing homework and revision.

D(O) (Demand in relation to activities other than academic study)	Family	Family maintenance	Housework, looking after younger siblings, routines such as lunch or dinner, preparing for school, spiritual activities like prayer.
D(O)	Family	Family bonding	Weekend days out, watching DVDs, interaction around the dinner table.
D(O)	Family	Extended family social relations	Extended family activities such as wedding functions, barbeques, entertaining visiting cousins
D(O)	School	Producing well-rounded students (as stipulated in the MoE's Strategic Plan)	School co-curricular activities
D(O)	School – peers and friends	Intimate personal relationships (Elkonin, 1972)	Learning activities in the classroom, friendship activities
D(O) (emerging from the empirical analysis)	Across institutions	unknown as yet	'off-task' activities (e.g. resting, sleeping), hobbies and entertainment-related activities, internet-related activities

D(AS) and/or D(O)	Across institutions	The societal value system	Activities/tasks related to pleasing and respecting parents in return for their kindness through actions of obedience and concurrence with demands
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Figure 24: D(AS) and D(O) and related activities for young people in Brunei.

5.2.1 D(AS) – in the family institutional practice

Generally, demands for academic study, D(AS), in the family practice is directed towards the objective-motive of parents and other family members wanting young people to do well in their academic study and eventually have a successful future. D(AS) in the family institution can be considered as stemming from the need to support the development of the country from a strong human resource base, and the emphasis of the country on successful family units, which calls for a stable family income and the future family of its descendants. In everyday activities, it surfaces that the academic study-related demand, D(AS), can be manifested directly and indirectly from the family institutional practice. Direct demands are displayed as direct instructions to do academic study-related activity, while the more common indirect demands are mostly implicit in other gestures and activities. The different ways in which these demands are manifested will be discussed in the following sub-section.

Overall, this section presents the demand for academic study, D(AS), in the family institutional practice. It will be shown that D(AS) exists in the family practice and is enforced directly or indirectly by different members of the immediate and extended family. In some of the examples, the demand for academic study, D(AS), is shown to be in contradiction with the demand for activities other than academic study, D(O). The tradition of off-school academic study has offered another perspective to look at the D(AS). It is asserted here that the practice of off-school academic study activity in the family institution is established by the elder children in the family. Young people who are the eldest

in the family therefore have an extra demand to establish the tradition of after-school academic study activity in the family institution in addition to the existing D(AS). Indeed the D(AS) is magnified in the process as the demand is not only to establish any practice, but one that is marked by successful academic performance in the family. The D(AS) in the family institutional practice will be summarised in the last sub-section, i.e. with respect to establishing and propagating family practices.

5.2.1.1 Direct D(AS) – direct demand

One of the ways in which demands for academic study were imparted to the young people was through direct command². An example of this form of demand was portrayed by Hani in her post-research focus group discussion (post-FGD), as can be seen in Figure 25 below:

-
- Jimmy: Okay ... so ... what's your family's part in this?
- Hani: Urm ... my mum, and my dad {not really} ... my mum ... {that's it} like screaming screaming right ... are you studying, not studying?
- Jimmy: {To give reminder yeah ... like reminder ... yes ... like} you have to do this, you have to do that ... {it's your mum who instructed you} ...
- Hani: Yeah ... but then {if it's like that ... don't know yeah}, sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't ... it depends on my mood.
-

Figure 25: Example of D(AS) in the family institution - direct command (FGD/Post/m/P38)

² Depending on the response from the young people, the demand can be an assigned demand or an assumed demand. This can be identified from the actions of the young people in relation to the demand through the guidelines developed in Figure 20, page 113. Although some of the young people's responses will be mentioned here, the detail of these analyses can be seen in the next chapter where the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy of a few of the young people are identified.

The anecdote above shows that there is a direct demand from Hani's mother for her to focus on her off-school academic study at home. In this research, off-school academic study activity refers to all the academic study-related activities that are carried out outside the school classroom setting, to distinguish it from the academic study activity in the school classroom setting. When Hani's mother checks on her to get her to do her off-school academic study at home, she is sending a strong sense of demand to Hani. Although it is inconclusive, Hani's lack of willingness in responding to the demand indicates that the demand is more of an assigned demand rather than an assumed one for her.

Another example of the direct demand for academic study, D(AS), can be seen in the case of Ruby, who claimed that she does revision at the last minute. With respect to this habit, she also received direct instruction from her parents, as can be seen in Figure 26. Although the direct instruction for Ruby is similar to that for Hani, Ruby did not share her reaction towards the demands here. Nonetheless, in the next chapter 6 on page 224, the SRs' respective notion of 'last minute', including Ruby's, has become an important piece of evidence that sets some of the SRs apart in terms of their academic study related motive-orientation.

Suzy: Where is your family in relation with this (study) strategy?

(...)

Ruby: Family, I think for me urm ... {they already know the way I} study
is last minute

Sarah: Yeah

Ruby: So, {like they always scold, why should I start late like that, like
later it might be too late to do anything, and before exam later ...
how to cope with the readings, it will be difficult}

Sarah: Yeah, syllabus

Figure 26: Ruby - D(AS) in the form of direct demand.

Hani and Ruby's examples show that they both received direct instruction, or direct demand, from their parents to do their after-school academic study activity, whether this was homework or revision. The demand can also be manifested indirectly from parents or other family members towards the young people, which will be discussed further in the following sub-sections.

5.2.1.2 Indirect D(AS) through parents' involvement in academic study-related decisions

An example of indirect academic study demands in the family institution towards young people is through parents' involvement in their children's choice of academic subjects. Many of the SRs in my research said that they chose their A-level subjects because of their interest and through consultation with the career teachers in the school. Hani, however, shared that her father was with her when she first had to choose her academic subjects (Figure 27).

Hani: At first when I first chose that subject, it was because my dad was beside me, and that time I wanted to be an engineer (...)

Yusuf: So ... what do you want to be?

Hani: Urm ... I really wanna go to business side yeah

Figure 27: FGD/Pre/M/P1

From the table above, it is clear that the presence of Hani's father influenced her choice of A Level subjects to some extent. The fact that Hani stayed with engineering-oriented A Level subjects rather than taking business-oriented academic subjects was partly in response to the demands placed upon her by her father during the session in the school. Involvement of parents in decisions about young people's academic study is an example of indirect demand on young people in relation to academic study. This example is supporting the earlier inference that Hani is still in the realm of assigned demand as far as academic study is concerned.

5.2.1.3 Indirect D(AS) through a third party

The demand from parents for their children to do well in academic study may also be expressed in the form of comparing them to other successful family members or friends. One anecdote from the conversation in one of the pre-research focus group discussions (pre-FGD) (Figure 28), shows the expression of this demand by Suzy's father, and the reactions of the other members in the FGD.

Sarah: (...) is there any particular occasion in your life that makes you feel that um there is a very strong need to focus on your studies {like} event {like}... {why you should study as such}.

(...)

Suzy: For me, there is motivation when my father compares ...

Harris: Oooowh ... (nodding in agreement)

Farah: Oooooowh ... (in response to Harris's Oooowh)

Suzy: {The} example, {'try, try first he said, try look at others, your cousin who enters u ... university, then you have to, he said, have to study, what not uhh,'}

Harris: {Did you resent it}?

Suzy: {Yes, indeed there is a little feeling of resentment though, and then there is the motivation to study, so his style is good, and then with another family, my family is like, he (father) always talk ... like praise, praise about me, in front of my other family, like like (I) feel, why he has to praise praise like this, like not (...), like like praise like 'clever', that, that that is, that is why there is more motivation to study, like that}

Sarah: {But} what do you feel?

-
- Suzy: {There is the feeling of} stress, pressure
- Farah: Don't you feel down? (...) Oh my God, de-motivated maybe ...
- Sarah: Urm ..., actually I'm going to say something about (inaudible), urm when you feel like that, you have to always remember urm ... even if your parents tell you that 'look at them, look at your cousin, they're successful, {enter UBD³ and what not, enter university} urm Cambridge and Oxford, you actually have to remember ... you make your own way, its ... either your {fate to enter to} Cambridge or wherever you want to go, if {not} then it's already His plan⁴
- (...)
- Sarah: (...) {but Suzy, like} is it long term {or} short term? {like just for a while only, like eh after that, after a while, eh let it be, let them leave first (Suzy's relative) (...) like I don't want to see them ...?}
- Farah: {He is him, and I am me!}
- (laugh out loud, so inaudible)
- Suzy: Urm sometimes, depends on the situation (inaudible) urm ...
-

Figure 28: Suzy's anxiety about the expectations of her immediate and extended family and being compared to other academically successful relatives and the responses from the other SRs FGD/Pre/D/34-36

The FGD discussion above shows that parents do impart their demand for academic study via other parties, such as extended family members. In the conversation, Suzy shared two different ways that demand for academic study

³ University Brunei Darussalam (UBD), the first national university in Brunei Darussalam.

⁴ This is referring to the concept of Qada' and Qadar in the Islam, which basically refers to the belief of pre-destination of a person in life and hereafter.

was asserted in the family in relation to extended family members: first a direct mention of Suzy's successful cousins to her by her father in the absent of the cousins, and second, by praising Suzy in front of her extended family members in front of Suzy. Suzy's story also triggered quite strong reactions from the rest of the SRs during the discussion. Farah, for instance, with her long 'owh', signalled that the topic of discussion was potentially 'controversial'. At the end of the discussion, Farah emphasised that one's academic study achievements should not be compared to another person's, by saying that, 'He is him, and I am me!' Sarah lamented how much one can work for their academic study, whilst the result will depend on the will of God the Almighty. From Farah and Sarah's reactions, I assume that they too have experienced being compared to other successful people at some point.

In this example, the parents seem to utilise the third party to impart the demand towards the young people. The young people were put on a hot spot of amplified expectation to perform in their academic study. Not only are they expected to perform to the level of their successful family or extended family members, but also to perform to the expectation of their extended family members who were 'made to believe' in their capacity to achieve high grades. The actions of the parents in comparing young people to other successful people⁵ builds up the demands for academic study, D(AS), on the young people and seems to create pressure on them, yet it does not necessarily lead to the young people being motivated towards their academic study. The resentment shown by Suzy is also shared by the other members of the pre-FGD discussion, which indicates that parents' comparison of them to other successful people is experienced by the young people as a D(AS).

As a matter of fact, through their resentment, the young people are showing counter-demand on their parents to lower their expectations on them. Nonetheless, although this example managed to show indirect demands in the family institution as well as resentment actions from the young people, the actions

⁵ This 'selling' activity is a typical discourse in the life of some of the people in Brunei especially those who come from Kampong Air (Water Village) (Hashim, 1991; 1993).

of the young people did not give a clear indication as to whether the demand is assigned for, or assumed by them (see Figure 20, page 118).

5.2.1.4 Indirect D(AS) through compromising D(O)

Another way in which demand for academic study, D(AS), is shown in the family practice is through parents helping with young people's housework responsibilities. Generally, at least in the context of Brunei Darussalam, young people of late adolescence would have been given and have assumed responsibility for certain household tasks, for example cleaning, doing laundry, cooking or child-minding. Both Anna and Hani said that one of their parents had been helping them with their housework responsibilities. Anna mentioned that her mother had been supporting her and her academic study, by helping her with a lot of her housework responsibility (MyQ/Anna/P1/MeQ3). Hani, on the other hand, indicated a similar situation to Anna and said that her father had helped her tremendously with her household responsibilities and she felt indebted to him. Hani said this in her *MyAlbum*:

Daddy (...) tries his best to fulfil every one of my needs, in whatever way he can even through tiredness and sorrowness. Without him, I don't think I will go to school, no energy left to do homework or study if he didn't take over a lot out of this heavy shoulders. (...) (He does) chores (to give me) extra time for study etc. etc. etc. etc. ... x ∞

MyA/Hani/2/27

In these examples, whilst the parents are helping the young people with their housework responsibilities, in return this is emphasising their demand for academic study. By helping the young people with their housework responsibilities, the parents are implying that their demand for the young people to do housework is less important than their demand for them with regards to their academic study. With regards to the theoretical model, these examples do not only show the existence of demands for academic study D(AS) and demands for activities other than academic study D(O), but also that these demands might be in a hierarchy of relative importance within each institutional practice. As the occurrence of both of them together is experienced as conflict by the young

people, the example also alludes to the fact that the D(AS) and the D(O) are in contradiction. The fact that the demands can be in a hierarchy of importance also supports the fact that they are contradictory, and one has to take precedence over the other. This evidence has supported the construction of the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111).

5.2.1.5 Assumed D(AS): The need to help with the welfare of the family

The discussion so far shows the demands that are put upon the young people by their parents, either directly or indirectly. Depending on the reactions of the young people towards the demand, the demands can be an assigned or assumed demand for them. From sub-section 5.2.1.1 on page 143, it was shown that Hani could have an assigned demand for academic study. With such assigned demands, the motive-orientation of the young people towards the activity, including academic study activity, is considered as a stimulating motive.

Nonetheless, if the demand or expectation from the family is assumed by the young people, the young people may have a sense-giving motive-orientation towards the objective-motive of the activity concerned. Such motive-orientation is illustrated by one of the SRs, Farah. Farah took her housework responsibilities into consideration when planning and writing her daily timetable right at the beginning of the academic year, as she lamented in one of the FGDs. In Figure 29, it can be seen that Farah had willingly factored time for her academic study, her housework and other daily routines into her planned timetable. This means that Farah has assumed responsibility for academic study as well as for housework, and is making an effort to resolve the conflict between the two activities in her everyday life.

Farah: Urm because I have actually at the beginning of the year I ... I have plotted down a timetable for myself so I could Urmmm divide my time with the time erm for my study, for my revision time, for my housework time and so many types, so that I could manage my time and then... I think that's it (giggles)

(...)

Farah Even though the timetable (...) sometimes students didn't even (...) though they have the timetable they didn't really umm follow the order of the timetable but they... it can be a tool to guide us so that we do not spend our free time with useless things

Figure 29: Farah timetable planning FGD/Pre/D/P3-P4

I would assert that, by assuming the responsibility for both academic study and other activities, the motive of these activities is more meaning-giving for young people than those activities that are directly or indirectly demanded on them.

5.2.1.6 D(AS) through siblings

In the family institution, siblings play an important role in influencing young people's motive-orientation with respect to academic study, although they may not pose direct demands as parents do. Some of the SRs show that they have developed a meaningful relation to the academic study-related motive-orientation through their siblings. This section will show that demand for academic study, D(AS), can be manifested through siblings within the family practice. Ruby and Anna both have elder sisters who are academically successful and are currently studying at universities abroad respectively. Ruby and Anna were also both inspired by their elder sisters to do well in their academic study. Indeed, the success of their sisters has posed demands for Ruby and Anna to be academically successful too. However, a further look into the relationship between both Ruby and Anna and their respective elder sisters reveals differentiation in their academic study-related motive-orientation.

For Ruby, her successful elder sister has become a source of inspiration to do well in her academic study. Her sister would be one of the people she would consult in relation to planning her academic study timetable

(MyQ/Ruby/P1/MeQ3). Ruby described her sister on many occasions as clever, organised, active and always completing her homework, as is summarised in Figure 30.

<i>Source references</i>	<i>Ruby's comments about her elder sister</i>
MyA/Ruby/4/28 (<i>MyAlbum</i>)	'I'll try my best to do the best! My sister ... I want to beat her! Why??!! Because she's clever → she is the one which motivates me ... (I) love her so much I'm gonna miss her ... this June she's flying to Australia ...'
MyA/Ruby/14/28 (<i>MyAlbum</i>)	'Awards: this is why I am trying so hard for my study (...) I want my sisters to be proud of me ...'
MyQ/Ruby/P1/MeQ3 (<i>MyQuestionnaire</i>)	Q: When you were considering planning your timetable (or are going to plan for your timetable) for your study ... Do you consult anybody? Why? A: Maybe I'll consult my sister, {don't know} why ... maybe because she's an organised type of person, {she is clever} ...
MyQ/Ruby/P3/SuzyQ5 (<i>MyQuestionnaire</i>)	Q: What or who encourages you to study? A: My sister! {Because she is clever} and I tried to challenged her ...
MyQ/Ruby/P4/FarahQ4 (<i>MyQuestionnaire</i>)	Q: Who inspires you to go to school A: My sister, very {clever} girl, active girl yet manages to complete her hws (homework)

Figure 30: Ruby's high regard for her successful sister.

On the other hand, Anna's relationship with her successful sister is rather different from Ruby's. Anna was very attached to her sister, and when her sister travelled abroad to study in the UK, Anna was left alone. However, Anna was not disheartened by this, because she and her sister had made a promise for her to get through her academic study and earn a scholarship to join her sister in the UK. The impact of the promise on Anna's determination can be seen in one of

her *MyAlbum* pages, as shown in Figure 31 on page 153. From the *MyAlbum* page, we can see that Anna's determination to join her sister was profound when she said she was the only one who did not cry when sending her sister off to the UK at the airport. In addition, when asked about why she goes to school, she said, 'my sister expects me to be with her overseas so I have to have good grades, ∴bright future' (MyQ/Anna/ P3/AnnaQ4). This response further strengthens the inference that Anna has a dominant motive-orientation to be reunited with her elder sister.

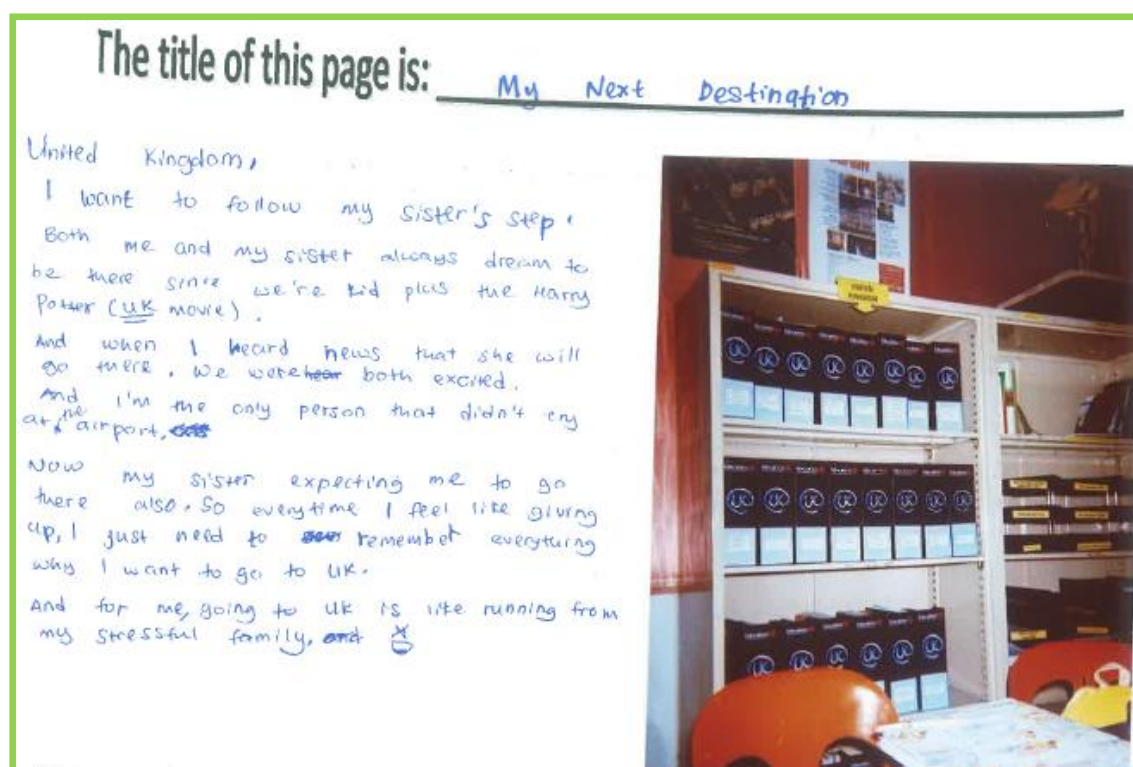


Figure 31: Anna's determination to join her sister who is studying abroad, example of D(AS) from a sibling (MyA/Anna/3/23)

Both Ruby and Anna's examples show that young people can be oriented to different objective-motives which can be achieved through academic study. In other words, the academic study is the goal. For instance, Ruby is oriented towards being as successful as her sister, while Anna is oriented towards being reunited with her sister who was then studying abroad. Both of these motive-orientations have academic study as the sub-ordinated goal respectively. Ruby and Anna examples have shown that a strong motive-orientation would have a strong sub-ordinated goal and perhaps a strong goal would imply that it is being

sub-ordinated by a strong or even dominant motive-orientation. A further analysis of Ruby's relation to academic study can be seen in Section 6.2 on page 228. The detailed analysis of Anna's relation was not included in this study due to the reasons stated in Appendix 2.

This section has shown that D(AS) can be manifested through siblings within the family practice. Through the examples, D(AS) from siblings could result in a strong academic study related motive-orientation. Meanwhile, D(AS) does not only come from immediate family members, but also extended family members. The next sub-section will discuss the D(AS) from extended family.

5.2.1.7 D(AS) from extended family

From the analysis of the societal perspective, in the context of Brunei Darussalam, a family will normally have a close relationship with extended family such as grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins. This extended family seems to manifest direct and indirect demands on young people in various ways.

The demand for academic study, D(AS), from the extended family can take three forms. First, there is direct expectation that the young people will do well in their academic study. Second, young people feel indebted because of the kindness of extended family members and feel they should pay them back through performing well in their examinations. Third are the successful or unsuccessful extended family members who inspire the young people either to follow in, or avoid, their footsteps. These are the three possible kinds of demands generated from academic study activity in the relationship between young people and their immediate and extended family members.

In the previous sub-section 5.2.1.3 on page 146, it was shown that Suzy's extended family exerted demands on her through the 'make believe' (by her father) that she was going to perform well in her coming examination. Apart from the direct demands from the extended family as experienced by Suzy, the extended family members could also manifest their demands on the young people without 'going through' the parents. In the case of Sarah, for example,

one of her uncles gave her a laptop, Figure 32 on page 155, for which she was very thankful and therefore intended to study hard to make her uncle proud.

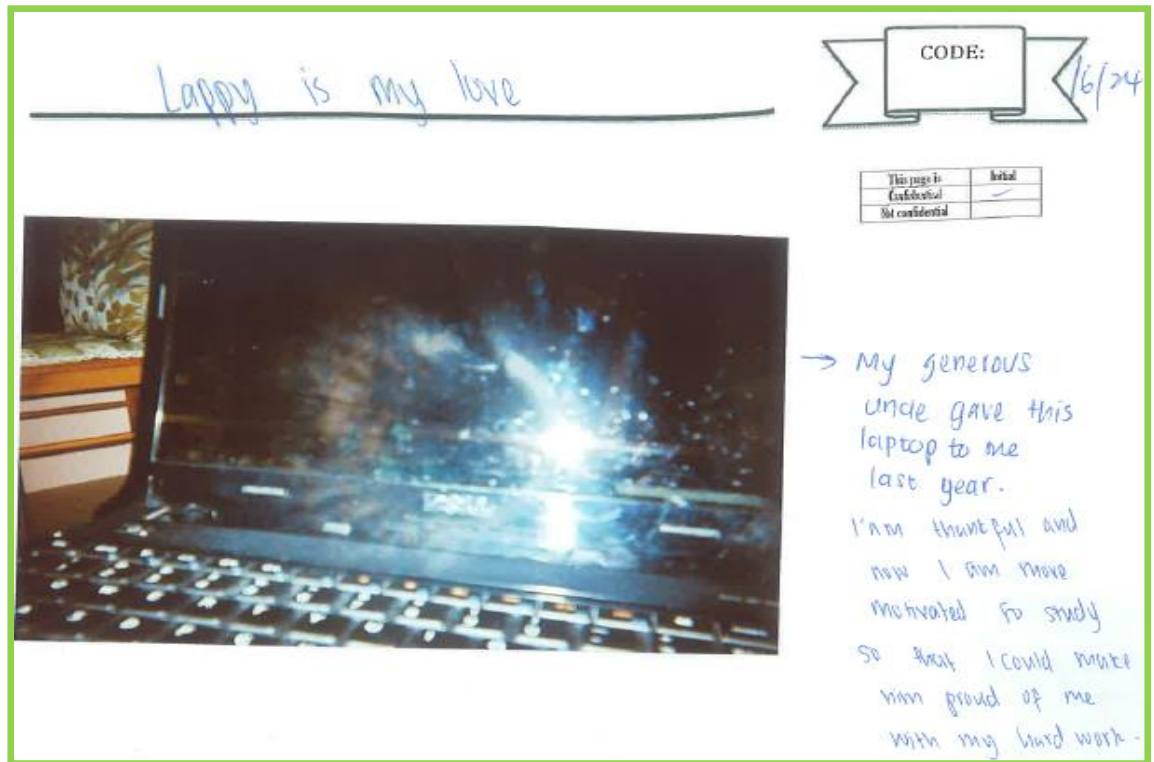


Figure 32: Sarah's laptop, a gift from her uncle, an example of D(AS) from the extended family (MyA/Sarah/6/24)

The similarity between Suzy and Sarah here is that both of them have the intention to study hard and do well in their academic study in response to demand from their extended family members. For Suzy, this is to prove her ability and success in academic study, as her father claimed she would be able to achieve. In the case of Sarah, it is to pay back her uncle's kindness and concern with her success in her academic study.

On the other hand, the young people's envy of the success of members of their extended family also forms an indirect demand on the young people. Sarah, for instance, admitted that she envies her auntie who owns a range of tools for

sewing and crafting, as can be seen in Figure 33 on page 156 and she is willing to work hard to own a similar collection herself. Although it is not imposed on them, the success of extended family members has formed the standard that young people look up to, especially in relation to the future life that they imagine they will live. Nonetheless although the intention to study hard was mentioned and implied by the SRs, it is inconclusive to pin down their motive-orientation yet. As a matter of fact, these two examples about Sarah form important pieces of evidence for inferring her motive-orientation, which will be discussed in the following chapter (Section 6.4, page 250).

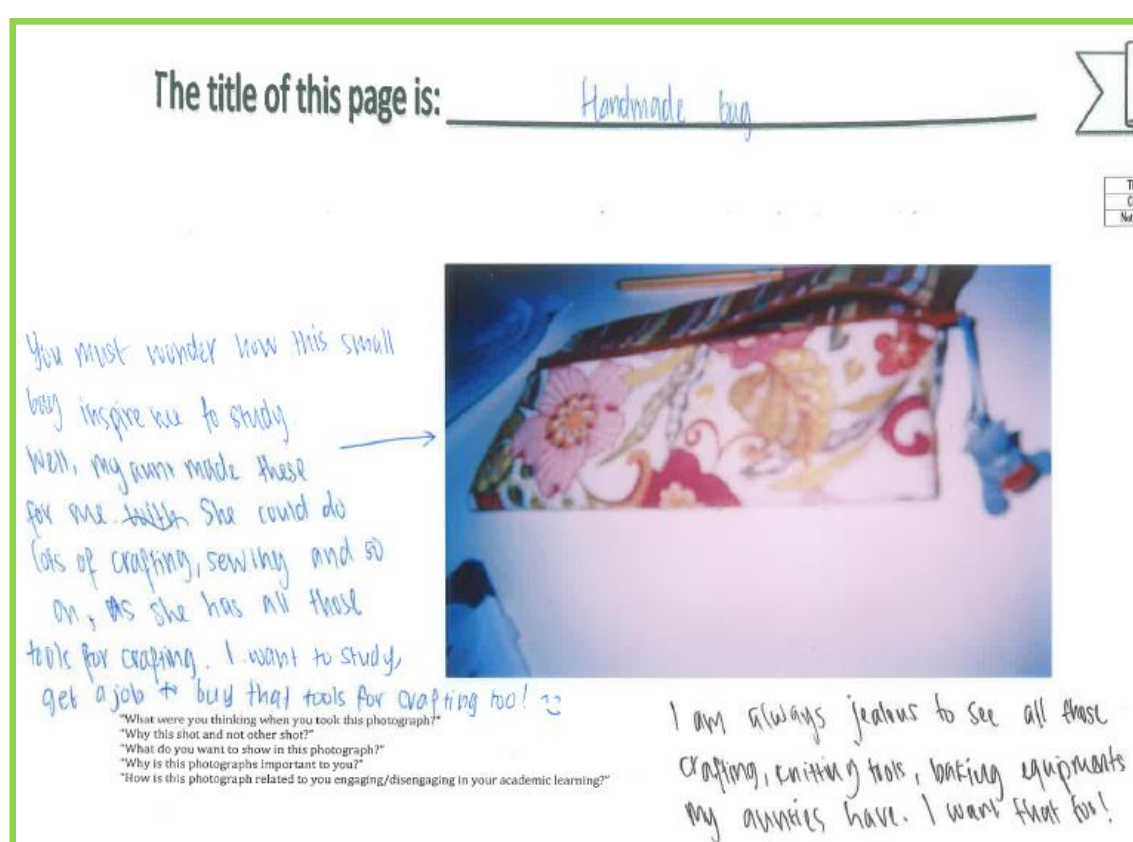


Figure 33: Sarah - Envy of the success of other family members, D(AS) from the extended family (MyA/Sarah/8/24)

Another example of the standard of academic achievement set up among extended family members is provided by Ruby. Ruby is surrounded by successful cousins who do exceptionally well in their academic study and get financial rewards (Figure 34, page 157). Although Ruby is not sure if the financial rewards

This encourages me the most! =>

{With us (my family), there are no rules that say} if you get this result, you'll be given this much ...

{But} my cousins, they followed the rules that if you get good grades for:

- 1) A level: \$3500*
- 2) O Level: \$2000*
- 3) PMB: \$800*
- 4) PSR: \$500*

All their siblings {clever} =I don't know if that motivates them or not ... {but that's it} all of them (7 of them) got all 5As for PSR, straight As for PMB, (2 of them) got straight As for O Level and {just recently the elder brother} got 4As for A Level ...

Basically, for me, money does help me to get good grades ... it's not that I am 'mercenary ...'

On a separate note, the fact that Ruby's cousins are being offered financial incentives is showing another example of the manifestation of indirect demands that parents put upon their children with respect to doing well in their academic study. Although there is not much background information to this piece of data, the example indicates that parents may also indirectly put demands on young people to do well in academic study by promising big rewards, in this case, a monetary reward.

Conversely, it is not always success stories of extended family members that intensify the demands for young people to do well in their academic study; in fact, relatively unsuccessful family members also have an impact. Hani, for instance,

was influenced by her unsuccessful relatives to study hard, as can be seen in Figure 35.

Q: 'what or who encourages you to study'

A: 'successful parents, not successful relatives'

Figure 35: Hani's unsuccessful extended family (MyQ/HAni/Q5/AnnaP3).

This anecdote, although brief, is important in illustrating that the academic performance or academic study-related activity of extended family members implies demand towards the young people with respect to their academic study. The little anecdote from Hani also serves as an important piece of information for inferring Hani's motive-orientations, which will be referred to in Section 6.3 on page 240.

The relation of the young person to academic study depends on the academic study related motive-orientation, which ranges from stimulating motive to sense-making motive, as described by Leontiev (1978).

In the next sub-section, an emerging theme from the empirical data is presented: family tradition with respect to academic study.

5.2.1.8 Family tradition – established and establishing

In the previous sub-sections, the demand with respect to academic study, D(AS), that runs through the immediate and extended family was presented with evidence from the empirical data. This evidence showed that D(AS) exists in the family institutions and is in contradiction to the demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), in the family, as represented in the model (Figure 18, page 111). This section will extend the presentation of the D(AS) to include the tradition of practice in the family with respect to after-school academic study activity at home, which cropped up in the empirical data.

The discussion of this theme will provide another perspective on the D(AS) in the family as discussed in the previous sub-sections. With respect to the theme,

there is a tradition relating to after-school academic study activity that has already been set up by elder siblings and extended family members in a more established or 'mature' family,. For new and younger families, however, the tradition is not yet established, and the eldest children in the family are involved in setting up the practice instead.

This section will present evidence from the empirical data to support the affirmation for the theme above. The discussion will start with Ruby and Anna who came from families with established traditions relating to after-school academic study activity, since both girls have academically successful elder sisters. Their cases will be compared to the families of Hani and Farah, who are the eldest in their respective young, nuclear families. From the analysis, there is evidence that Farah and especially Hani are currently establishing off-school academic study activity in their families.

Recalling the relationship of both Ruby and Anna to their respective elder sisters, in sub-section 5.2.1.6 from page 151, we can see that both of them, regardless of the form of their relationship, were set up to perform well in their academic study. The success of the elder child or children in the family implies that there are off-school academic study-related activities in the family practices that have already been set up. One piece of evidence supporting this claim is activity-setting in the family practice. Both Ruby and Anna have their own study zones set up in their respective homes, as can be seen in the pictures in Figure 36 and Figure 37.

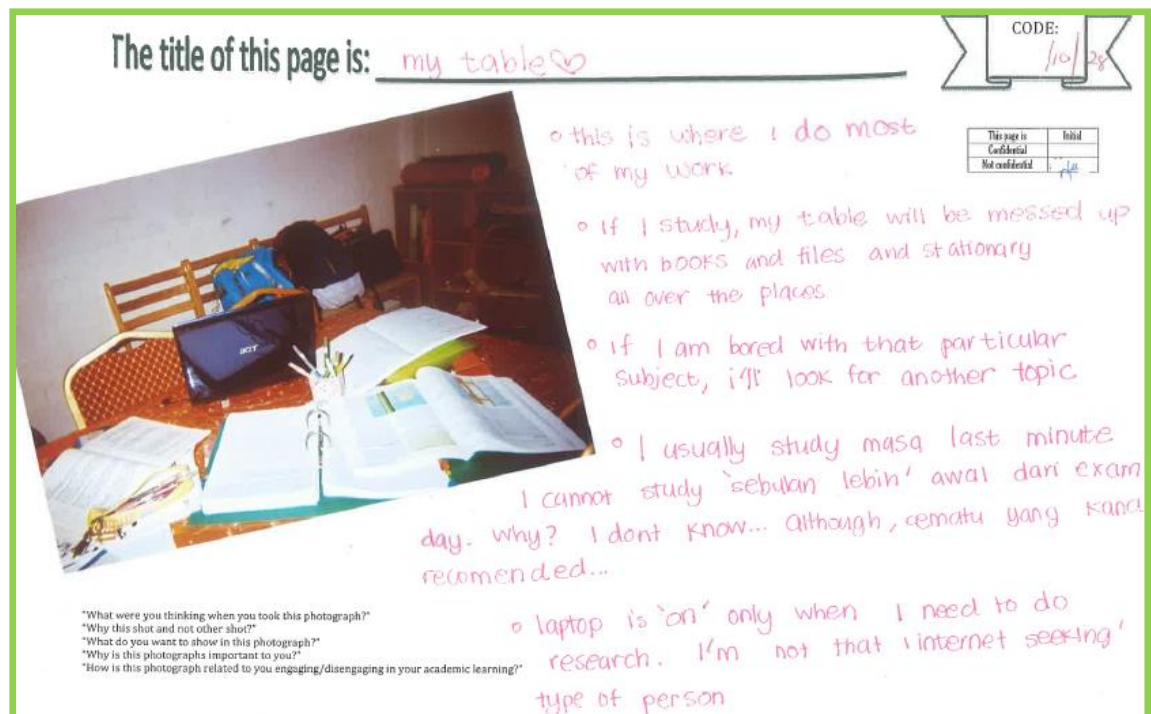


Figure 36: Ruby's study zone at home (MyA/Ruby/10/28)

[Translation for Figure 36]

The title of this page is: my table <3

- This is where I do most of my work
- If I study, my table will be messed up with books and files and stationery all over the place
- If I am bored with that particular subject, I'll look for another topic
- I usually study {at the} last minute, I cannot study {'a month before'} the exam day. Why? I don't know ... although, {that's what's recommended}
- Laptop is 'on' only when I need to do research. I'm not that 'internet seeking' type of person

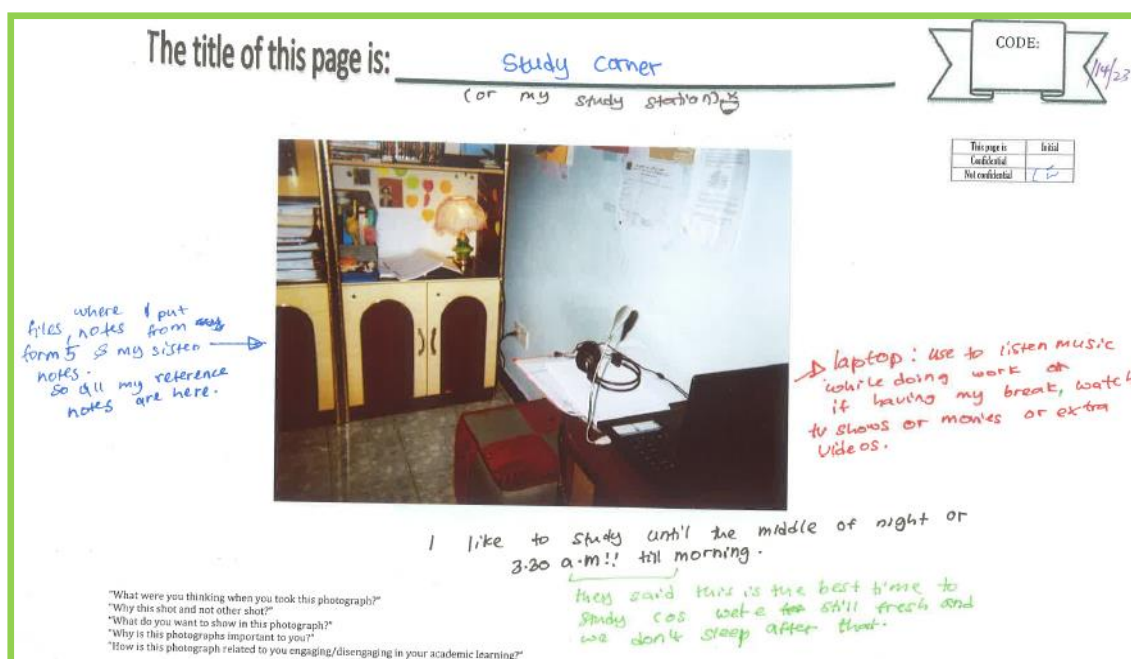


Figure 37: Anna's study zone at home (MyA/Anna/14/23)

The pictures of both Ruby and Anna's study zones show that there is a specific area in the house that is exclusively allocated for them to do their off-school academic study activity. In Ruby's study zone, her books and files were spread out, which indicates that she was in the middle of doing her academic study work, as she implied in her annotation. Similarly in Anna's study zone, she also had her file and laptop open, and she said that the laptop was for her to listen to music while she was studying, or to watch videos while having a break. These pictures not only indicate that there is a study zone in the home, but also that the space is actively being used for its purpose, the off-school academic study activity.

In addition to having a designated study zone, Ruby and Anna seem to have a systematic way of organising their things that seems to fit with their needs with respect to academic study. The two pictures in Figure 38 and Figure 39 show Ruby and Anna's organisation of their respective cupboards.

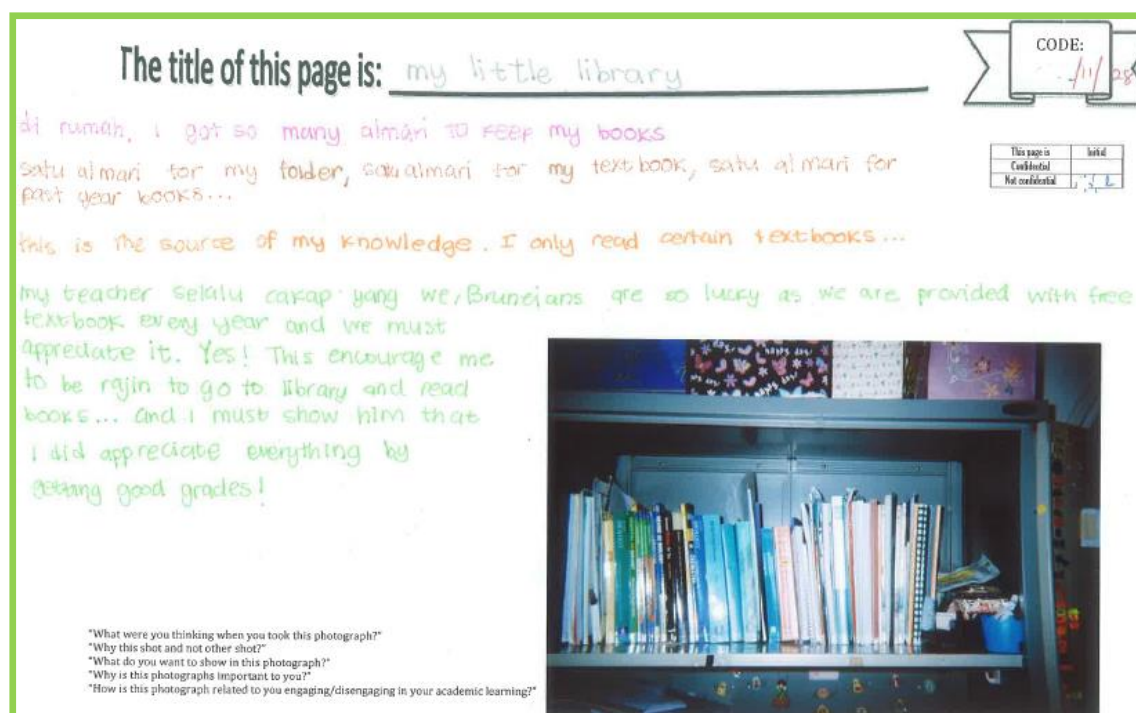


Figure 38: Ruby's organised academic study stuff (MyA/Ruby/11/28)

[Translation of Figure 38]

The title of this page is: my little library

{At home}, I've got so many {cupboards} to keep my books.

{One cupboard} for my folders, {one cupboard} for my textbooks, {one
cupboard} for past year books ...

This is the source of my knowledge. I only read certain textbooks.

My teacher {always says that we} Bruneians are so lucky as we are provided
with a free textbook every year and we must appreciate it. Yes! This
encourages me to be {hardworking} to go to the library and read books ... and I
must show him that I did appreciate everything by getting good grades!

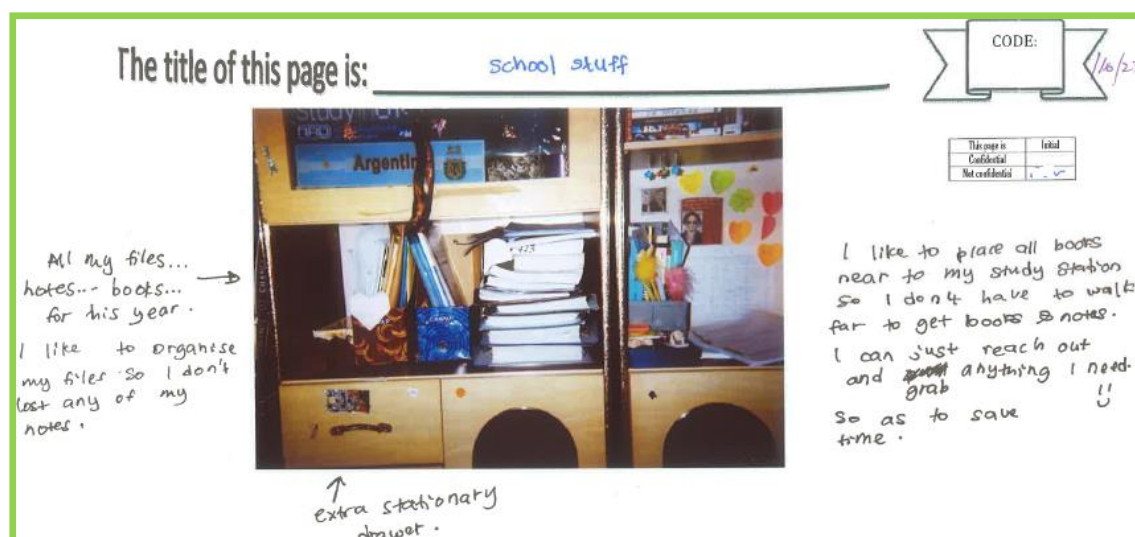


Figure 39: Anna's organised academic study stuff (MyA/Anna/16/23)

From Figure 38, we can see that Ruby seems to have three cupboards to keep her academic study essentials, to store her folders, her textbooks and her past year papers respectively. Anna, on the other hand, said that she likes to organise her notes and books so that she has everything in place (Figure 39). She also likes to place her books near to her study station for easy reach. Having academic study materials practically organised at home, as far as my empirical data is concerned, is a display of a set established practice with respect to academic study activity. This is further supported by Anna's notice board at home that she shared with her elder sister, as can be seen in Figure 40.

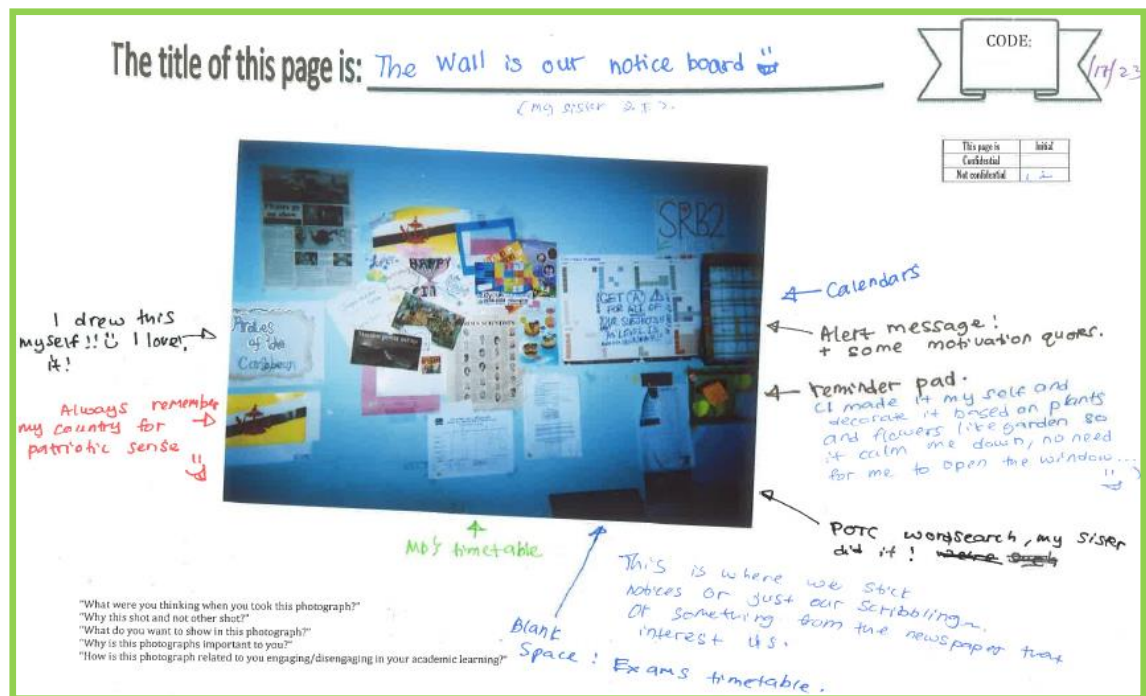


Figure 40: Anna's notice board at home that she shared with her elder sister (MyA/Anna/17/23)

The notice board contains essential information such as calendars, motivational words, school timetable, reminders and other sources of inspiration. The title of the *MyAlbum* page, 'The wall is our notice board =D, (my sister and I)', clearly shows that Anna shared the notice board and the related activities with her elder sister. For example, one of her annotations reads, 'This is where we stick notices or just our scribbling – or something from the newspaper that interests us'. The fact that Anna continues to use the noticeboard, maintaining some of the materials that she shared with her sister and adding some more herself, distinctly shows there is a continuation of the activity and practice in the family institution.

The continuation of the practice does not stop at maintaining the space only but also the whole package of the relation of the siblings to academic study. This is shown by the empty space on the noticeboard which is left for her exam timetable, as Anna is preparing herself in anticipation of her coming examinations. Bearing in mind that the picture was taken when her sister had already left to study abroad, the action of continuing to maintain the notice board,

including maintaining the space for her examination timetable, shows that the practice with respect to academic study activity is already set up for Anna.

The discussion of the academic study activity setting in Ruby and Anna's homes so far has shown not only that the successful elder sister has placed D(AS) for the younger siblings to follow in their footsteps, but also that they have set up a tradition of successful academic study practice at home. With respect to my earlier assertion of the theme, the cases of Ruby and Anna shows that the elder siblings in the family have been involved in setting up the academic study-related practices in the family. By being successful, their off-school academic study activities in the family are strengthened and 'endorsed' as leading to one of the traditions of activities in the family practice.

In addition, to support the assertion of the theme about the role of elder siblings in the setting-up of academic study-related activities in the home practice further, I will present the case of Hani as a comparison. Hani is the eldest in her family. She comes from a younger family, living in their own house, independent of grandparents and other cousins. This corresponds to the nuclear family trend that is discussed in the societal analysis sub-section 5.1.3 on page 132. The data for Hani shows that the family practice with respect to off-school academic study activity is still being established for her. Like Ruby and Anna, Hani has her exclusive study zone and cupboard. However, in contrast to Ruby and Anna, Hani's study zone and study materials are far from organised, as can be seen in Figure 41.

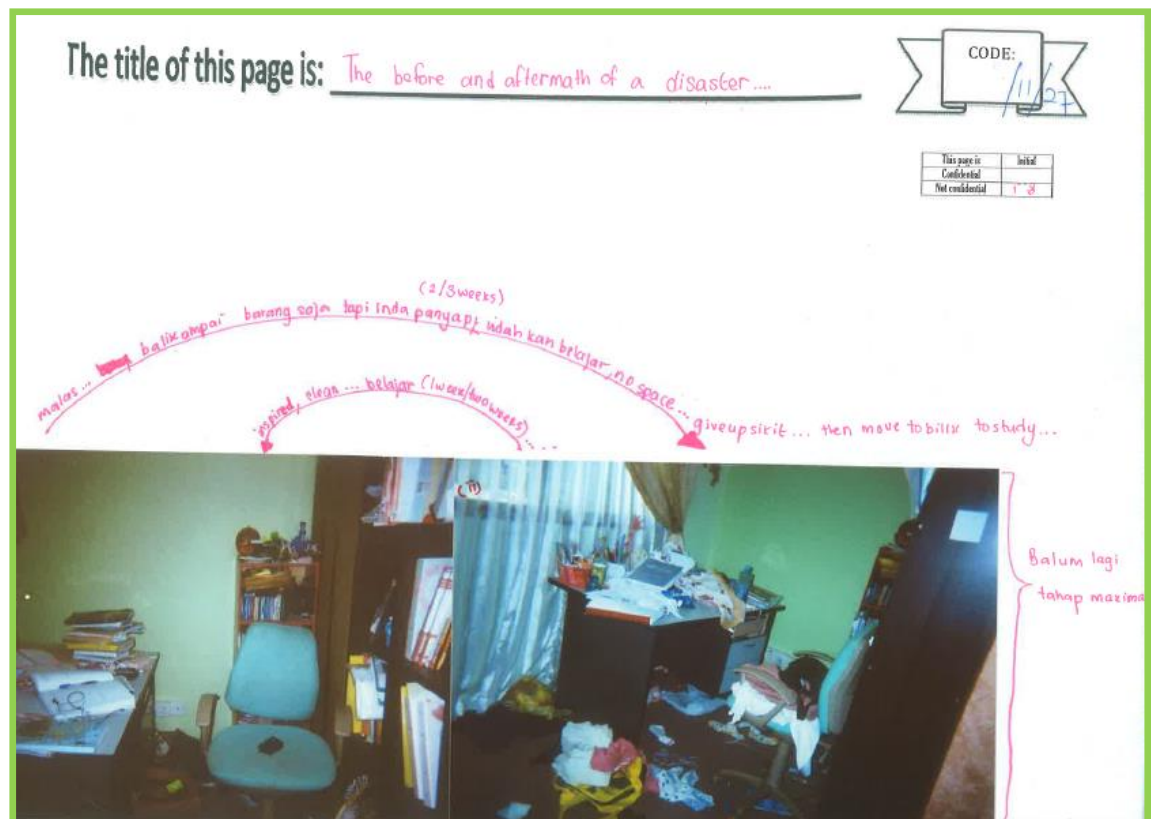


Figure 41: Hani's study zone at home (MyA/Hani/11/27)

[Translation of Figure 41]

The title of this page is: The before and aftermath of a disaster ...

{Lazy ... (I) return (home) just put down things but do not tidy up (2/3 weeks), when the time to study comes, no space ... give up a bit ... then move to bedroom to study ...} →

Inspired, clean, ... {study} (1 week/2 weeks) ... ←

} {this is not the maximum level yet}

The picture above shows that there is a lack of organisation with respect to Hani's off-school academic activity setting. Hani also has a cupboard to keep her academic study stuff like Ruby and Anna. However, since the cupboard is next to her study table, as can be seen in Figure 41, she admitted that it is not in use, especially when her study table is messy (MyA/Hani/20/27). Comparing Hani to

Ruby and Anna, the lack of organisation could be attributed to the non-existence of established practices in Hani's family. Indeed, Hani has been using her bed as the alternative setting for her off-school academic study activity, if the designated study zone is too messy for her (MyA/Hani/22/27). In the picture, which cannot be shown here as she wants it to be maintained as confidential, one of her annotations was, 'When my study table is {messy}, my bed becomes my next study place. When my table is {clean}, my bed will be {messy} vice versa ... '. Hani seems to be struggling to maintain the space to do her off-school academic study activity. Although she also has dedicated study areas at her home, the messiness of her study space and her lack of organisation shows that she lacks an established practice. Unlike Ruby and Anna, who were just continuing and maintaining the practice that was set up by their respective elder sisters, Hani does not have the practice set up for her. As a matter of fact, being the eldest in the family, she has an extra demand to set up the off-school academic study activity, on top of the demand for her academic study. Her struggle to keep up with both the demands and her own motive-orientation was shown in the expression of conflicts throughout her data, some of which will be highlighted and discussed in the next chapter.

So far, the empirical data in this sub-section has shown support for the theme on the existence of a tradition of practices set up in 'mature' families with respect to off-school academic study activity. The comparison of Ruby and Anna to Hani, with respect to their off-school academic study activity setting at home, shows the established and establishing tradition in their family practice respectively.

The following section will discuss the demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), in the family institutional practices, as well as its contradiction with the D(AS) generally identified through the conflict experienced by SRs in this research.

5.3 D(O) and CD – in the family institutional practice

The demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), is portrayed in the theoretical model as a contradiction to the demand for academic study, D(AS), on Figure 18, page 111. In the previous section, empirical evidence of the existence

of D(AS) and its contradiction with the demand for other than academic study, D(O), in the family institution was presented. In this section, the existence of D(O) and its contradiction with D(AS) will be argued further. The presentation of D(O) in this section will build upon D(AS) in the family practice discussed in the previous section, in the spirit of collating empirical evidence to understand the dynamics of the demands on young people. The D(O) in the family institution is categorised into family maintenance activity, family bonding activity and extended family activity, all of which come into contradiction with D(AS). This categorisation is based on the analysis of the different activities in the family practice other than off-school academic study. The categories also take into account the societal objective that each of them may be oriented to, which will be discussed in the respective sub-sections.

This section will also discuss the counter-demand (CD) that young people exert in the family practice, and its dialectic relation to the demand (D-CD relation) from the practice, either demand for academic study, D(AS), or demand for activities other than academic study, D(O). Generally the counter-demand takes the form of young people's expectation of support from the family institution with respect to the activity they are participating in, especially if it is an activity related to their main motive-orientation. The empirical data in this study show that failure of the institutional practice to comply with young people's counter-demand is deemed unsupportive and may lead to tension and heighten the conflict that they experience from the contradicting demands.

5.3.1 D(O) – Family maintenance activities

With respect to the societal level, I am assuming that family maintenance activities are orientated towards the needs of societal harmony and high quality of life in the country, as implied in sub-section 5.1.3 on page 132. In orienting to the societal objective, perhaps one goal of family maintenance activity is to ensure the sustenance and continuity of the family institution. Family maintenance activities include the everyday running of the household, such as the three daily meals and their related tasks, laundry and its related tasks, cleaning the house

and so on. The goal of these activities is to ensure that the family survives and thrives in the society.

In the context of Brunei Darussalam, young people, especially those in their late adolescence, are generally expected to participate in family maintenance activities by helping with various tasks. It is also quite a common situation that foreign maids are brought into the family to help with the housework and looking after children or elderly members of the family. Unfortunately none of the SRs in this study mentioned this, which could imply that they do not have live-in maids or the presence of the maid is insignificant as far as their academic study is concerned.

Some of the evidence with respect to family maintenance activity has been discussed in sub-section 5.2.1.4 on page 149 and sub-section 5.2.1.5 on page 150. In both the sub-sections, the data discussed show the existence of demand for other than academic study, D(O), with regards to doing housework and its contradiction with the demand for academic study activity, D(AS), for Hani, Anna and Farah.

Another family maintenance activity that is not mentioned in the previous sub-sections is the involvement of young people in earning money for the family, for example in the family business. To my knowledge, young people working to help the family are relatively less common in the context of Brunei Darussalam. However, one of my SRs, Sarah, works and helps with her family business. In her *MyAlbum*, MyA/Sarah/22/24, Sarah admitted that helping with the family business was very tiring, yet she also acknowledged that the activity helped her realise the importance of doing well in academic study for her future. A detailed account of this activity for Sarah will be discussed in the next chapter (Section 6.4 on page 250).

In short, D(O) for family maintenance activity does exist and is in contradiction with D(AS). These contradictions result in conflict for the young people as they embrace the different activities not only in the family practice but also across the different practices and activities. The resolution of these conflicts will be analysed to reveal the dominance of the young people's different motive-orientations according to the flowchart in Figure 21 on page 119. With respect to the focus of

this research, the analysis of how the young people resolve different conflicts leads to a better understanding of their relation to academic study. The next chapter will centre on how some of the SRs resolved particular conflicts in order to describe their relation to academic study.

The next sub-section will discuss another D(O) in the family institution: family bonding activity.

5.3.2 D(O) – Family bonding activity

Family bonding activity is assumed to be oriented towards the same objective-motive as family maintenance activity, namely the objective-motive of societal harmony. In such cases, the activity serves the objective-motive of both family maintenance activity and family bonding activity. This is in line with Leontiev (1978), who says that an activity can serve more than just one objective-motive.

In contrast to family maintenance activities, family bonding activities are activities that create social interactions within the family which generally result in positive feelings of social bonding between the participating family members. With respect to the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) my data shows that, apart from those demands posed by family maintenance activity, family bonding activity poses another demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), which is in contradiction with the demand for academic study, D(AS).

In addition, family bonding activity may share common tasks with family maintenance activity. For instance, for Sarah the family dinner is not just another daily routine, but it is the time to bond with other family members and to catch up with each other's daily experiences, as she said in her *MyQuestionnaire* (Figure 42).

Q: What were the things in your 'everyday life' that were the hardest to sacrifice?

A: Eating time, cause that's the only time where {we as a family} gather together and talk with each other, updates {what we have been doing}, jokes etc. I love it! <3"

Figure 42: Family bonding activity - Sarah (My/Q/Sarah/P1/MeQ3).

Family bonding activities tend to be more meaningful for some young people than others since the conflict these activities have caused them is greater. Hani, for instance, mentioned how family bonding activity interrupted her pre-planned study timetable. In the following two tables, Figure 43 and Figure 44, extracts from the post-research focus group discussion (post-FGD) show two instances where family bonding activities, a Sunday day out and watching DVDs respectively, were mentioned by Hani as disrupting her study plan.

Jimmy: Onto the next question, how do you divide your time for studying and other matters?

(...)

Hani: Yeah ... and then {like} for me ... {like} every Sunday I do my timetable right? No, I do my timetable once ... and then for every Sunday ... and then {like} you can't expect every Sunday to be free for your study {right} ... {there must be outing here and there, going right, everywhere, so that is the disturbance}

Figure 43: Sunday day out – the family bonding activity that disrupts Hani's study plan (FGD/Post/M/P5-P6).

Johan: Okay... urrrm what are the other matters that always come in the way of your studying?

(...)

Hani: For me {it will be a lie if I say family gathering}, since it's not like every week ... {but ... } maybe for me ... {like} when you are studying and then my parents {watch} DVD, everyone, and I'm the only one {who is} studying, {you must want to watch DVD too right} ... ?

Jimmy: Yeah true

Figure 44: Watching DVDs – the family bonding activity that disrupts Hani's study plan (FGD/Post/M/P6-P7).

In both the examples above, Hani shows that she gives in to the family bonding activities that get in the way of her pre-planned study time. She does not want to be the odd one out of the family bonding activities, when the rest of the members of her family are taking part. Compared to Sarah, who shows willingness to sacrifice her academic study activities, there is more reluctance in Hani to leave her academic study for the family bonding activity, although like Sarah, she would choose the family bonding activity over her academic study.

However, not all the conflicts that result from the contradiction between D(AS) and family bonding activity are deterrents for the young people. In Ruby's family, for example, as can be seen from Figure 45 and Figure 46 there is a routine of having a barbeque almost every Thursday. Instead of seeing this activity as a conflict, Ruby seems not just to enjoy it, but also to treat it as a break from her off-school academic study.

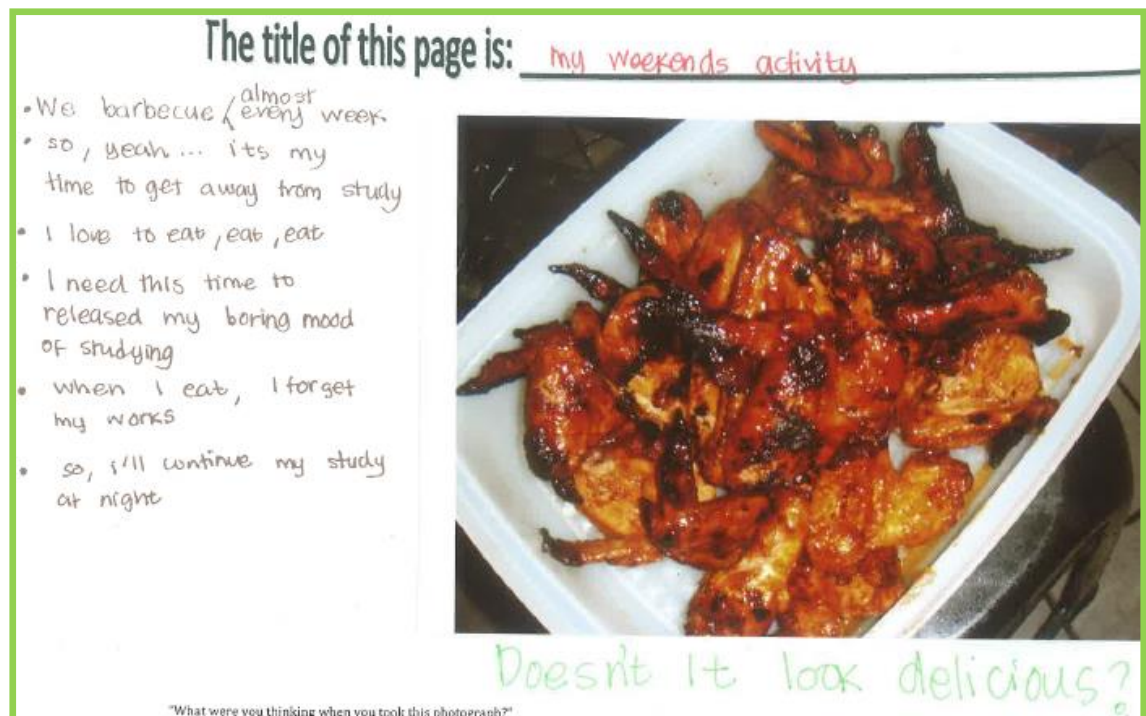


Figure 45: Family bonding activity: weekly barbeque – Ruby (MyAlbum/Ruby/22/28).

Yusuf: How about other matters that always get in the way of your studying?

Ruby: Other matters ... {our family gathering usually like on every Thursday night so like it does not really affect} so I am not really that ... {it does not affect my study}.

Yusuf: Okay

Ruby: With my studies and everything

Figure 46: Family bonding activity every Thursday – Ruby (FGD/Pre/M/P7-P8).

The existence of the D(O) for family bonding activity and its contradiction with D(AS) supports the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111). The model portrays the D(AS) and D(O) as inherently in contradiction. Empirically, the contradiction generates conflict as young people participate in the

practice, in this case, the family practice. However, the reaction of the different SRs to the conflict from the D(AS)-D(O) contradiction relates to their respective relations to academic study. A detailed account of this assertion is presented for four of the SRs respectively in the next chapter.

5.3.3 D(O) – Extended family activities

As discussed earlier in the societal analysis section (Section 5.1, page 126), the family in Brunei Darussalam is still very much of an extended structure. The relationship between a family and its extended family members is still very close, even for families who have opted to live as a nuclear family. The extended family can exert demands on young people both for academic study and for activities other than academic study. The demand for academic study, D(AS), is discussed in Section 5.2 from page 139. According to the model (Figure 18, page 111), D(AS) and the demand for other than academic study, D(O), are always in contradiction, and analysis of the data shows that D(O) from the extended family further intensifies the impact of this contradiction on young people.

One of the D(O)s with respect to the extended family in Brunei is what are commonly called ‘family functions’. ‘Family functions’ in the context of the country are ‘extended family get-togethers’ for big events like weddings and birthday celebrations or for social gatherings. For some people, these social events could happen up to almost every week during certain times of the year. From the societal value perspective, it is socially and morally important for people to attend these functions, not just to socialise but centrally as their social and religious obligations. This is part of the value system in Brunei society. For young people who are strongly oriented to academic study, these functions may pose a strong conflict especially when they are preparing for their examinations, or when they have a lot of homework to do. For instance in the case of Sarah, she said that she is concerned if unexpected family functions come into her scheduled timetable that she has to give up her plan for the family functions (Figure 47). Similarly for Farah, she finds that family functions are the hardest to sacrifice when planning her off-school academic study timetable (Figure 48).

Q: When you plan your time (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly – for this year), what are the factors in your ‘everyday life’ that ...

- Worry/concern you?

A: I’m just worried that {there is a function during the study time that I have} plotted/planned.

Figure 47: Extended family D(O) - Sarah (MyQ/Sarah/P1/MeQ2).

Q: What were the things in your ‘everyday life’ that were the hardest to sacrifice?

A: Family occasions because family are important in our life (especially on wedding occasions)

Figure 48: Extended family activity - Farah (MyQ/Farah/P1/MeQ3).

Apart from family functions, daily encounters with relatives such as cousins are also a source of distraction for the young people. In the case of Ruby, she comes from a family who live in close proximity to each other, and for her this means living among her cousins and her cousins being part of her everyday activities. As mentioned in sub-section 5.2.1.7 on page 154, the tremendous success of Ruby’s cousins does motivate her to focus on her academic study. However, on the scale of everyday activities, the frequent and prolonged visits from her younger cousins also demand Ruby’s attention and distract her from her off-school study time. She wrote about this on one of her *MyAlbum* pages, whose translation is shown in Figure 49. In the extract, it can be seen that extended everyday visits by her cousins, especially during the school holiday, force Ruby to forsake her academic study activity. When her cousins visit, not only does she need to entertain them, but they are too noisy for her to focus on her academic study.

‘My “beloved” cousins’

Here goes the story,

... {they always come} to our house → during school holiday
(everyday)

That is good {of course ... “strengthen relationship”} but when they
{frequently come over, that} ... it’s like ... hmm ... I don’t know ...
{(on top of that) they will leave at 12pm that is!

When they are in my house ... {of course they will be playing all the
time} ...and I must entertain them too ... meaning, I need to
abandon my work {first}

{What to do???!! (it’s) NOISY yeah}

So, in conclusion, they stopped me from doing my homework!

Figure 49: Ruby’s description of her extended family distracting her from her off-school academic study activity (Extracted from MyA/Ruby/5/28).

Participation in activities involving extended family members is not something that is easily compromised in Brunei. Not only are family ties among extended family members strong, but ties with other members of the community are too (Hashim, 1991). As far as the young people are concerned, the demand to participate in extended family activities and to some extent in community activities is yet another D(O) that contradicts the D(AS). This is felt as conflict for them, especially when they have important academic study tasks such as deadlines and examinations.

5.3.4 CD - Counter-demand from young people – in the family institution

So far, the previous two sections have discussed the demand for academic study, D(AS), as well as the demand for other than academic study activity, D(O), and its contradiction in the family institutional practice. Throughout the discussion, empirical evidence has been presented to support the development and refinement of the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model of the different activities opposing academic study activity across the institutional practices with respect to a young person. In relation to further empirically grounding the model, this sub-section will put forward evidence to support the subtle counter-demand (CD) from young people towards the institutional practices, looking specifically here at the family institutional practice.

The CD generally refers to the young people's expectation of support from the institutional practice with respect to the activities that they participate in. Sarah's is a straight-forward example of this D-CD relation. In an extract from the pre-research focus group discussion (pre-FGD) (sub-section 4.4.3.1 on page 73), Sarah complains about her brothers and mother who frequently knock on her door while she is studying. In terms of demands, this is related to demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), from her siblings and mother, although it is not specific in this example as to which category of the D(O) in the family practice it belongs. Sarah's expression of dissatisfaction with the disruption implies that she expects her private study time to be respected, which is her counter-demand for academic study CD(AS) towards her family members.

Sarah's example above has shown that she demands support from her family in terms of giving her space for her off-school academic study at home. Another similar example is portrayed by Hani, who gave an elaborate account of how two of her brothers have influenced her off-school academic study activity. Her description of Hani-BrotherA can be seen in Figure 50, and Hani-BrotherB in Figure 51.

The title of this page is: Source of annoyance part 1

Hani-BrotherA

- (He) always annoys me ... (always)
 - (he) always does what I ask for "{brother please take (for me) ...}"
 - ∴ at times when I'm lazy to do my work and the only way to be inspired is when my books are in front of me, and I will ask him to get it for me:-
 - when he does →(I) do my work ...
 - when he doesn't →(I) do something else
 - ∴ he sometimes encourages, sometimes discourages me from learning
- (i) When I'm inspired to do my work and something broke between us
 - ∴ I get mad
 - ∴ I will feel discouraged
- (ii) When I saw him study
 - ∴ encouraged
- (iii) When I'm really in a good mood (play time) (joke with him)
 - ∴ discouraged

Figure 50: D(O) affecting off-school academic study activity – Hani part 1 (the page is marked confidential) (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Hani/3/27*).

The title of this page is: Source of annoyance part 2 (Hani-BrotherB – younger than Hani-BrotherA)

SPOILT

- Good boy, {willing to take things (for me)}
 - ∴ same case as previous page (Figure 50)
- {Too spoilt, he demands to take this and that, until there is not} that feeling to study.

V.S.

NAUGHTY

- {(I) always become his victim, (I'm) teased by him ...}
-

→ {(I'm) irritated until I cannot focus on study.
→ {irritated – can study ...}
... it's complicated ...
... no words can describe it

Figure 51: D(O) affecting off-school academic study activity - Hani part 2 (the page is marked confidential) (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Hani/4/27*).

In the two examples, Hani has described that her mood to study at home is highly subject to the way her brothers treat her. In other words, in response to the D(AS) in the family practice, Hani manifests a counter-demand with respect to academic study, CD(AS), on her siblings. Her CD(AS) is expressed as the expectation that her brothers will fulfil her requests, and she blames them for distracting her from her after-school academic study when they do not do as she asks.

As discussed earlier, Hani's off-school academic study activity would be disrupted by family bonding activities like watching DVDs together which coincided with her pre-planned time for revision at weekends (see 5.3.2 on page 171). This is another example of CD that shows Hani's dominant motive-orientation towards family bonding activity. The example shows that, when a CD is perceived by the young people as not being met by the institutional practices, it creates conflict for them. In this example, the presence of the family bonding activity is perceived by Hani as not supporting her academic study activity which she seems to demand from her family.

Another instance supporting the D-CD relation is the case of Hani and Anna, whose parents helped them with their housework responsibilities to allow them to focus on their off-school academic study activity (5.2.1.4, page 149). Although it was argued that parents helping their children was a manifestation of D(AS) as of priority over D(O) in the family, parents helping their children with their share of the housework is also a response to the children's CD(AS). The support requested by the young people with respect to academic study is fulfilled by relaxing the manifestation of the D(O) in the practice by family members.

With respect to the point about the tradition for off-school academic study activity set-up, discussed in sub-section 5.2.1.8 on page 159, the set-up of the tradition

itself is a manifestation of the D(AS) towards the young people with regards to academic study. Meanwhile, the same manifestation is also a show of the support towards the young people in response to the CD(AS) from the young people towards the institutional practice. From this evidence, I would argue that there is indeed a dialectic relation between the D(AS) and CD(AS) within the institutional practice and with respect to the young people participating in it. This dialectic relation is represented in the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model (Figure 18, page 111).

5.4 D(AS) – in the school institutional practice

The previous section has discussed the demand for academic study, D(AS), and the demand for activities other than academic study activity, D(O), as well as their contradiction in the family institutional practice. The counter-demand (CD) from young people towards the institutional practice was also asserted as being in dialectical relationship with the demands in the practice. Exploring these different internal relationships, grounded in the empirical data, aims to support the development of a theoretical model of young people's relation to academic study in the context of Brunei Darussalam. This section will continue the discussion with an exploration of the school institutional practice. As continued from the previous section, this section will focus on the demand and counter-demand and will continue to use evidence to support the existence of D(AS), D(O) and their contradictions.

A stark difference between the school and family institutional practices is that the school institution has academic study activity as its institutionalised objective-motive. It is assumed here that the objective-motive has also been widely acknowledged and accepted, and indeed is the extension of the societal practice at large. Because of this assumption, the presentation in this section will take a slightly different turn than the earlier section (Section 5.2.1, page 142). Instead of discussing the forms of manifestation of D(AS), the D(AS) in the school practice is assumed to be manifested in most school activities except for the D(O), which is discussed separately in Section 5.5 on page 208. In fact, the data analysis

discussed in this section shows strong appearance of counter-demand in relation to academic study, CD(AS) from young people towards the school institutional practice, which is strong evidence for the existence of D(AS) in the first place.

Generally, from the analysis of the empirical data, I have found that the young women seem to have expectations (CD) on their teachers from two broad perspectives: the professional teacher-student relationship and the personal teacher-student relationship. The former relationship covers aspects such as conducting lessons, helping them with academic study matters and concern about their academic performance. The teachers are expected to have the relevant knowledge and skills that can help the young people to prepare for their examinations. Meanwhile, the personal teacher-student relationship refers to a more emotional and affective form of relationship between teacher and student. In this relationship, the young people expect the teacher to be friendly, approachable, supportive and more open to them. The personal teacher-student relationship seems to work well alongside the professional teacher-student relationship in supporting the student with their academic study activity. The personal teacher-student relationships, however, are always limited by the fact that the teacher is still an extension of the school authorities and the relationship is bound by the societal value system. Furthermore, the professional teacher-student relationship takes precedence over the personal teacher-student relationship.

In relation to their peers, the young women seem to seek support (CD) for their academic study-related tasks, for instance by not distracting them during a class lesson. However, the young people's expectations (CD) of their friends or best friends covers more than just support with academic study-related tasks. The young women show CD towards their friends for what they perceive their friends can offer, either in terms of academic study activity or otherwise. The young people's CDs are mostly related to their own dominant motive-orientation.

5.4.1 CD through the relationship with teachers

Relationships with teachers at school can be seen as ranging from a professional teacher-student relationship to a personal teacher-student relationship. The professional teacher-student relationship here refers to the professionalism of the teachers in terms of their knowledge and skills, as perceived by the students. An example of this relationship is portrayed by Ruby in her *MyAlbum* (*MyAlbum/Ruby/7/28*), as can be seen in Figure 52, where she commented on Ruby-TeacherA as a 'super-expert' and said that she really likes the way the teacher teaches her. This shows that Ruby appreciates the teacher's professional knowledge and skills.

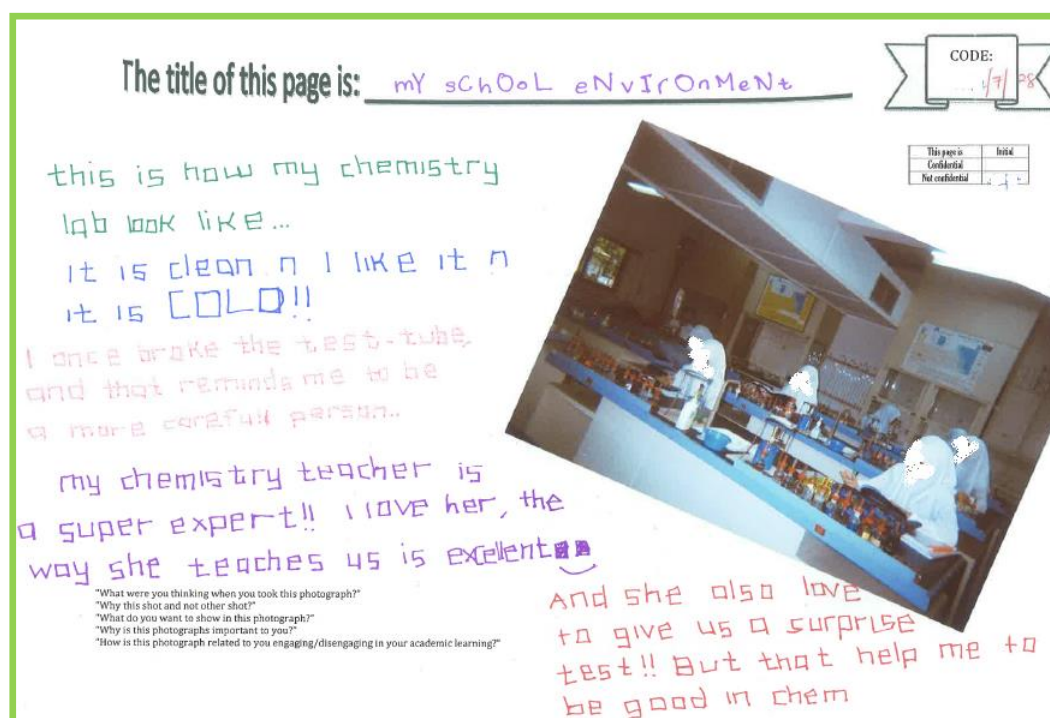


Figure 52: Ruby's description of Ruby-TeacherA that shows a positive professional teacher-student relationship

Another example is Anna, who described her Anna-TeacherB as being organised, teaching topic by topic and finishing each topic with a topical test (*MyAlbum/Anna/9/23*), whose style suits her. She also described another

teacher, Anna-TeacherA as ‘hyper-energetic and unique-English-accent teacher who managed to capture their concentration and understanding of the subject matter by creating an informal, question-drilling remedial class (*MyAlbum/Anna/8/23*).

The professional teacher-student relationship is not always positive, as shown by both Ruby and Anna in their respective *MyAlbums*. Hani’s perception of her teacher, Hani-TeacherA, is a very interesting example of a negative professional teacher-student relationship. Hani was very successful in her GCSE O Level (the exam she took almost two years earlier) in Hani-SubjectA, which made her very enthusiastic about studying the subject in the GCE A Level programme (the coming exam that she is taking). To her disappointment, Hani-TeacherA, who teaches the subject in the GCE A Level programme, could not connect with her because of the teacher’s soft voice. Her frustration led her to be put off the subject, as can be seen in her description in Figure 53.

The title of this page is: Hani’s 1st Law

‘Once upon a time, there was an innocent girl who just got into Sixth Form with flying colours achieved in her O’ Level results. She was superb at the beginning of her classes, but all of it went to waste when she entered her *Hani-SubjectA* class. With a teacher like *Hani-TeacherA*, her voice as soft as a cotton candy, teaching in front, she doesn’t bother whether her students understand what she’s teaching or not, or better yet, can the students hear her voice?

Newton’s 1st Law:

Force acted on a body will have the exact same magnitude of force acting in the opposite direction from the body.

Force acting on body = body exerts force

Hani’s 1st law

Good teacher teaching students = students perform well!’

The innocent girl soon drifted away from her initial goal and though she realised it, she can't do anything, unless her Hani-TeacherA {is changed} with a new louder teacher, or so she thought, she wasn't the only one behaving that way (...)

Figure 53: Hani's negative professional teacher-student relationship with Hani-TeacherA (Extracted from *MyAlbum*/Hani/5/27).

The quote above was extracted from Hani's *MyAlbum*, which demonstrated her deep frustration with the teacher's poor connection with the whole class generally, and with her specifically. Hani's expression 'Hani's 1st Law: Good teacher teaching students = students perform well!' on the *MyAlbum* page illustrates how much she is affected by her perceived poor performance of the teacher. This is an example of a deteriorating professional teacher-student relationship that eventually had a negative impact on Hani's relation to her academic study, particularly Hani-SubjectA. A detailed analysis of Hani using the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) can be followed in the next Section 6.3 from page 240. These three examples of Ruby, Anna and Hani show that the young women have an expectation that their teachers will teach them well. This is their counter-demand with respect to academic study, CD(AS), on their school subject teachers. The success of the teacher in fulfilling the young people's CD(AS) is appreciated and perceived as supporting the young people's academic study activity in the school. Failure of the teacher to meet the CD(AS) leads to a prolonged experience of frustration, especially for the young women who have a dominant academic study related orientation.

Young people's relationships with teachers can also take the form of a personal teacher-student relationship. In this study, a personal teacher-student relationship refers to an affective relationship between teacher and student that is of a friendly and caring nature and inspires and motivates the young people in some way. However, the empirical data in this study further show that the relationship is not formed as exclusively personal. It always seems to have the notion of teacher professionalism in it, as well as the inherent power relations between teacher and student in the context of school institutional practice.

Among the SRs, Farah has more inclination to appreciate these relationships and described them in terms of the impact the relationships have on her.

Farah described one of her favourite teachers, Farah-TeacherB, as hardworking, caring and strict, who inspires and motivates her to study. The relationship that Farah develops with the teacher supports her in developing a positive connection to the subject so that she makes it a goal to score highly in the subject. With another teacher, Farah-TeacherC, Farah offers a similar description, depicting the teacher as hardworking and giving her motivation and encouragement in Farah-SubjectC (Figure 54). However, Farah's relationship with this teacher is slightly different for two reasons, which can be seen in the same figure. First, Farah noticed that the teacher contradicted herself by doubting Farah's capability in Farah-SubjectC. Second, Farah found that neither the over-demanding attitude nor the teaching approach of the teacher, Farah-TeacherC, actually suit her.

Title of this page is: My Farah-TeacherC ...

- She is a really hardworking teacher
 - But due to her 'pressuring attitude', it made me stressed out.
 - Her way of teaching (she loves to rush everything out, asks us to copy our notes in a short time; teaches us in a very fast speed, if we are doing our corrections, she rarely gives us the exact answer, she is not suitable for me
 - (...)
 - She always looks down on her students (by making her "are you sure you can do it" expression) but said I can get an A. This sometimes discouraged me from studying and doing all the assignments (most of the time actually)
 - (...)
-

Figure 54: Farah's professional teacher-student relationship with Farah-TeacherC (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Farah/4/27*).

Another of Farah's teachers, Farah-TeacherD, also discourages Farah by telling her that she will never get a grade A in Farah-SubjectD (Figure 55). Moreover, for Farah, Farah-TeacherD is known to give lots of work but never bother to check it. She said she tried to ask the teacher to clarify her doubts, but the teacher would re-explain in the same way again, which she could not understand.

The title of this page is: My Farah-TeacherD

- Farah-SubjectD is one of the subjects that I hate so much.
- Farah-TeacherD is the teacher who loves to give us assignments and to mark our work
- But the way he taught me, it wasn't even suitable for me (he just gave me assignments, I copied corrections from the board; no other way of teaching if I asked him to explain to me all over again)
- He also indirectly demotivated me by telling me that I will never get an A or even a B. I will get a C if I am lucky. That was why I don't think it's worth it for me to work really hard

Figure 55: Farah's professional teacher-student relationship with Farah-TeacherD (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Farah/5/27*).

From Farah's example, a teacher who is perceived as incompetent, irresponsible and doubting the young people's capability seems to be discredited in their professionalism as a teacher. In a subject that Farah does not like, such as Farah-SubjectD, an unsupportive teacher is a real blow for her. Her frustration seems to be huge as she repeated herself again in the pre-FGD, as can be seen in Figure 56.

Hani: So you don't like Farah-SubjectD?

Farah: My... hmmm, I hate Farah-SubjectD very much ... and then and top with such a teacher, I would hate it even more ... if Farah-SubjectD

right, (if) I like the subject, I really like the subject, even though the teacher is like that right, but then like I really if I really like the subject, I really need to score this subject, that how it is

Figure 56: Farah's frustration with Farah-TeacherD (FGD/Pre/M/P28-P30).

With Farah-TeacherC and Farah-TeacherD, Farah perceived that her teachers were not supporting her professionally the way she felt that she deserved, and she felt disappointed about that. This created a strong conflict for Farah between wanting to perform well in the respective academic subjects and having to face teachers who were discouraging and not giving her space to learn and develop.

Overall, Farah's case shows the personal teacher-student relationship that exists in the school practice. The personal teacher-student relationship is no more important than the professional teacher-student relationship as illustrated by Farah's relationship with Farah-TeacherC. However, a lack of both professional and personal student-teacher relationships seems to be the worst condition young people could experience in the school institutional practice with respect to their academic study, as illustrated by Farah's experience with Farah-TeacherD. Nonetheless, a balance of the two relationships may perhaps be more favourable, as in the case of Farah relationship with Farah-TeacherB who supports her both personally and professionally.

There is yet another teacher that Farah mentioned in her *MyAlbum*, Farah-TeacherA, with whom she seems to have a very positive personal teacher-student relationship. It is not mentioned in her data if the teacher teaches her directly, although the teacher seems to encourage her a lot with Farah-SubjectC. Not only does Farah-TeacherA appear on the first page of her *MyAlbum*, (*MyAlbum*/Farah/2/27), the title of the page, 'My most favourite teacher ever!!', also seems to convey a strong message that Farah's relationship with the teacher plays a huge role in Farah's relation to academic study. The teacher seems to be central throughout most of the pages in her *MyAlbum*, both directly and indirectly. According to Farah, the teacher is always motivating, inspiring and advising her with matters concerning her study, ambition and even the image of earning a

scholarship and studying abroad. He is the teacher that Farah would go to if she had a problem in the school.

As far as the personal teacher-student relationship can go, it is always bound by the school institutional values in particular and the societal values at large. This can be seen from the picture that Farah took with Farah-TeacherA, which shows a significant distance between her and the teacher. Similar distances are also apparent in the pictures she took with the other three teachers. These pictures are not shown here to protect the confidentiality of the SRs. The limitation of the personal teacher-student relationship can be explained from the inherent power relation between teacher and student. The teacher is seen as an authoritative figure who represents the school institution. Furthermore, there is always a 'line' beyond which the relationship between teacher and student cannot pass within the etiquette of the teaching profession generally, especially with respect to opposite genders. In the context of Brunei Darussalam, the teaching of Islam strongly upheld by society prohibits close personal relationships between members of the opposite sex outside marriage. Despite this, inferring from the example of Farah, the nature of the personal teacher-student relationship may have reduced the power relation between teacher and student although it does not seem to compromise the authority of the teacher in the school.

The CD(AS) that the young people exert in the school institution also goes beyond the relationship with teachers. The next sub-section will discuss the extension of the CD(AS) to peers who participate in the same academic study activity setting.

5.4.2 CD through the relationship with peers

Apart from counter-demand (CD) in the form of expectation of support in relation to academic study from their teachers in the school institutional practice, the young people also expect support from their peers in the classroom setting. In the context of this research, peers refer to those whom the young people encounter in their school institutions, either within the academic study activity setting or across school activities in general. Peers include their schoolmates,

classmates and seatmates. Some of these relationships might become more meaningful than others and develop into good friend or best friend relationships. This research shows that the relationship with classmates, including seatmates, can be of a supportive or a destructive nature for the young people's academic study.

Farah's relationship with her peers is an example of a positive, supportive relationship which satisfies her CD(AS) in the school institution. Farah, who described her experience of conflict with both Farah-TeacherC and Farah-TeacherD, finds relief in her classmates. In the respective classes, Farah also described how her classmates helped her to cope with the conflict she was experiencing, as can be seen in Figure 57, and Figure 58. On both the *MyAlbum* pages, she described her classmates as a 'team' and 'family' and said that their support and encouragement had helped her to overcome the disappointment she felt with both her teachers' discouraging remarks (Figure 58).

The title of this page is: My cheerful Farah-SubjectC classmate

- These cheerful classmates of my Farah-SubjectC class help me to calm down if we are stressed during our class Farah-SubjectC.
- They are also helpful in doing my assignments.
- The genius friends in this class inspire me to get a better grade than them.
- We are really close and like a family. This makes us have this 'teamwork' feeling to help each other in Farah-SubjectC

Figure 57: Farah regarded her Farah-SubjectC classmates as supporting her with the class (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Farah/7/27*).

The title of this page is: My Farah-SubjectD classmate

- These people are the ones who are sitting around me during my Farah-SubjectD class.
 - They are really helpful especially when I do not understand what my
-

Farah-TeacherD taught me.

- They motivate me when I gave up in doing my assignments.
 - They love to teach me.
-

Figure 58: Farah's Farah-SubjectD classmates who support her with the subject (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Farah/9/27*).

In fact, Farah singled out two of her friends, who seem to be her classmates in both Farah-SubjectB and Farah-SubjectC (*MyAlbum/Farah/6/27*) and are known as Farah-ClassmateB1 and Farah-ClassmateC1 respectively in this thesis. Farah described her relationship with Farah-ClassmateB1 in the class like a pair of shoes, helping each other closely so they can both excel in Farah-SubjectB together. Meanwhile, Farah feels sorry for Farah-ClassmateC1 who is hard working but always gets unsatisfactory grades in Farah-SubjectC. Farah said that she has the intention to do well in her study so as to be a good example and to motivate Farah-ClassmateC1 to excel in his academic study too.

Nonetheless, not all of Farah's classmates are positively supportive of her academic study; some of them can have a negative impact too. In the pre-research focus group discussion (pre-FGD), as shown in Figure 59, Farah's peers discouraged her from doing her homework for Farah-SubjectD, especially when the teachers do not check their work. With the existing unsatisfactory relationship that Farah and Farah-TeacherD have, Farah was pleased with her peers' suggestion for her not to do the homework. The analysis of Farah and her classmates in this sub-section so far shows that Farah's CD(AS) for her peers is the demand for empathy and support with the difficulties that she experiences in her academic study.

Jimmy: Ow, ... who or what gave you the logic to quit? {in Farah-SubjectD}?

(...)

Farah: Aa.. Some...

Hani: The teacher?

Farah: Ah, the teacher and my friends.... my classmates... like they say,
heh Farah, why are you so hardworking...

(...)

Farah: {They said ... why are you, why are you this this hardworking? No
need to do yeah, the sir (teacher) won't even mark it, they said ...
like so it is like that (...) yeah, like that's right, why would I do it
(anyway)}

Figure 59: Farah was convinced by her classmates not to do Farah-SubjectD homework (FGD/Pre/D/P29-P30).

On the other hand, Hani's example shows a rather disruptive relationship with her peers. In *MyAlbum/Hani/7/27*, Hani described in detail her Hani-SubjectB activity setting. Generally, she expressed her extreme annoyance with her classmates in the class, who she found very distracting. Her feelings about one of the classmates, Hani-ClassmateB1, can be seen in Figure 60.

The title of this page is: Two hours of this crap every day!!!!!!One!!!!!!

'Here I am trying to study and he can't stop talking, somehow I'm used to it!
{but} I still can't stop {being} annoyed'

(...)

Figure 60: Hani describing her feelings about her classmates in Hani-SubjectA (extracted from *MyAlbum/Hani/7/27*).

Hani also took the opportunity of the *MyAlbum* activity to express her dissatisfaction to her disruptive classmates (Figure 61, page 193) and her talkative seatmate (Figure 62) in the form of personal notes. She felt that the seatmate has been distracting her from trying to concentrate in the lesson. Meanwhile, for Hani, her classmates have been unsupportive of her in relation to her effort to concentrate in the lesson. The thoughtlessness of her classmates has failed her CD(AS) on them and created an intense conflict especially with respect to her strong intention to get high grades in her academic study.

(...)

'Dear Hani-ClassmateB1,

Stop being such a walking encyclopaedia, just hearing your voice makes me want to puke already, {Be quiet! Get it??}

Can't you see that everyone is yearning for you to be absent so the class will be peaceful?

Stop talking about x-rated stuff in class. Stop being so sexist and looking down on the girls in class.

Stop being giving free lectures in class because we don't want to hear your voice ... {Its (too) loud!!}'

Figure 61: Hani's message for her most disruptive classmate in her Hani-SubjectA class (extracted from *MyAlbum/Hani/7/27*).

(...)

'Dear Hani-SeatmateB1

Just because I talk to you sometimes, doesn't mean that I want to hear your voice talking to me when I'm trying to do my work coz I can't concentrate in class with all your updates.

I don't want to hear what all your siblings are doing every night'.

(...)

Figure 62: Hani's message for her talkative seatmate in the Hani-SubjectA class (extracted from *MyAlbum/Hani/7/27*).

With respect to the D-CD, the discussion so far has shown that the young people do have the expectation that their peers will support them, if not with their academic study, at least emotionally in relation to their academic study at school.

The support from peers may contribute to a more favourable academic study activity setting which supports the motive-orientation of the young people. The failure of peers to provide the support demanded by the young people creates conflict, especially for those young people who have a more dominant motive-orientation towards academic study.

In summary, as emphasised at the beginning of this section, the school institution has academic study activity as its institutionalised objective-motive, which is accepted and acknowledged by the society. It is assumed here that the D(AS) is manifested in most school activities. This sub-section has elaborated on the young people's CDs on the school, i.e. towards their subject teachers and peers, in the form of the demand for support with their academic study. The demand for support with academic study is placed on the teachers with respect to professional and personal teacher-student relationships. The demand for support is also extended to other participants in the academic study activity, namely classmates and seatmates. Generally, perceived support from both teachers and peers contributes to a positive activity setting for the young people. However, perceived non-support from teachers and peers is experienced as intense conflict that leads the young people to unpleasant activity settings in the school. Nonetheless, as shown by Farah's example, the CD(AS) towards peers may not affect the relation of the young people to academic study as their dominant activity. Figure 63 on page 195 provides a summary of the D(AS) and CD(AS) with respect to the young people in the school institutional practice.

The D(AS) and CD(AS)	School institution	Peers
The demand of the ‘institutions’ on the young people	To participate fully in school academic study activities	To understand and support what other peers are doing
The demand on the ‘institutions’ from the young people	To receive support at both professional and personal level (from teachers) in relation to academic study	To understand and be supportive of what they (the young people) are doing in relation to academic study

Figure 63: Summary of the demand for academic study, D(AS), and its counter-demand, CD(AS), with respect to the young people and the school institutional practice.

As has been mentioned earlier in this section, young people’s relationships with their peers are generally confined to academic activities within the school setting, particularly the classroom setting. Should the activity that the young people share with their peers extend beyond the classroom and beyond academic study activity, it is most likely that these peers are closer to them and are regarded as friends, close friends or even best friends. With these types of friendship relationships, the activity that they have in common will be referred to in this thesis as ‘friendship’ activity. The discussion of the empirical data analysis to support the model of young people’s relation to academic study from the perspective of friendship activity (Figure 20, page 118) will be presented in the following section.

5.4.3 D-CD within friend circles and friendship activity

This section will present a discussion of young people’s relationship with friends in connection to their orientation to academic study. The strength of the relationship with friends in terms of demand (D) and counter-demand (CD) is

beyond the relationship with peers that was discussed in the previous section. In the relationship with peers, the young people have a strong CD for their peers to understand and support them with their academic study tasks, yet this demand may or may not be fulfilled by the peers. However, within the circle of friends, the role of supporting each other in terms of what the members of the circle of friends are oriented to, seems to be assumed by the young people. The expectation of participation in group friendship activity is more intense than the expectation for peers. Within the dynamic of the D-CD relationship in friendship activity, the CD for support from friends is subject to the perceived capacity and strength the friends are able to offer. The mutual support within the friendship group in the D-CD pattern seems to be the content of young people's friendship activity. This again emphasises the dialectic relationship of the D-CD that the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model (Figure 18, page 111) is projecting.

5.4.3.1 The contradiction between D(AS) and D(O) in friendship activity

In order to show the contradiction between the demand for academic study, D(AS), and the demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), a comparison between Ruby and Anna's cases will be presented first, with respect to their respective academic study-related motive-orientation discussed earlier in sub-section 5.4.2 on page 189. The discussion of Hani, Farah and Sarah, who are in the same best friend circle, will follow.

In her *MyAlbum*, Ruby presented a succinct example of two different groups of friends. She labelled the two groups with respect to their roles in relation to her academic study, as she perceived them. The two contrasting groups of friends are presented on the first two pages (after the self-introduction page) of her *MyAlbum*, entitled 'the gangster gang' and 'the "good" friend' (Figure 64 and Figure 65 respectively). Analysing her annotations on both these pages, she seems to have categorised her friends according to whether they encourage her towards, or distract her from, her academic study. 'The gangster gang' friends for Ruby are the group of friends whose friendship activity is of a playful nature and generally competes with her academic study activity. With this group of friends, Ruby seems to enjoy the friendship activity, although she playfully noted a little

concern about the fact that these friends had influenced her to spend her Personal Study (PS) time in the café instead of studying. PS refers to the block of free time in the formal school timetable where young people are expected to do their independent off-school academic study activity, such as finishing their homework or doing revision, within the school compound. For Ruby, the demand from 'the gangster gang' to spend their PS in the café instead of doing their off-school academic study tasks seems to go against her will, although she did not refuse to join them. This example shows contradiction between the D(AS) and D(O) in the context of Ruby's friendship activity.

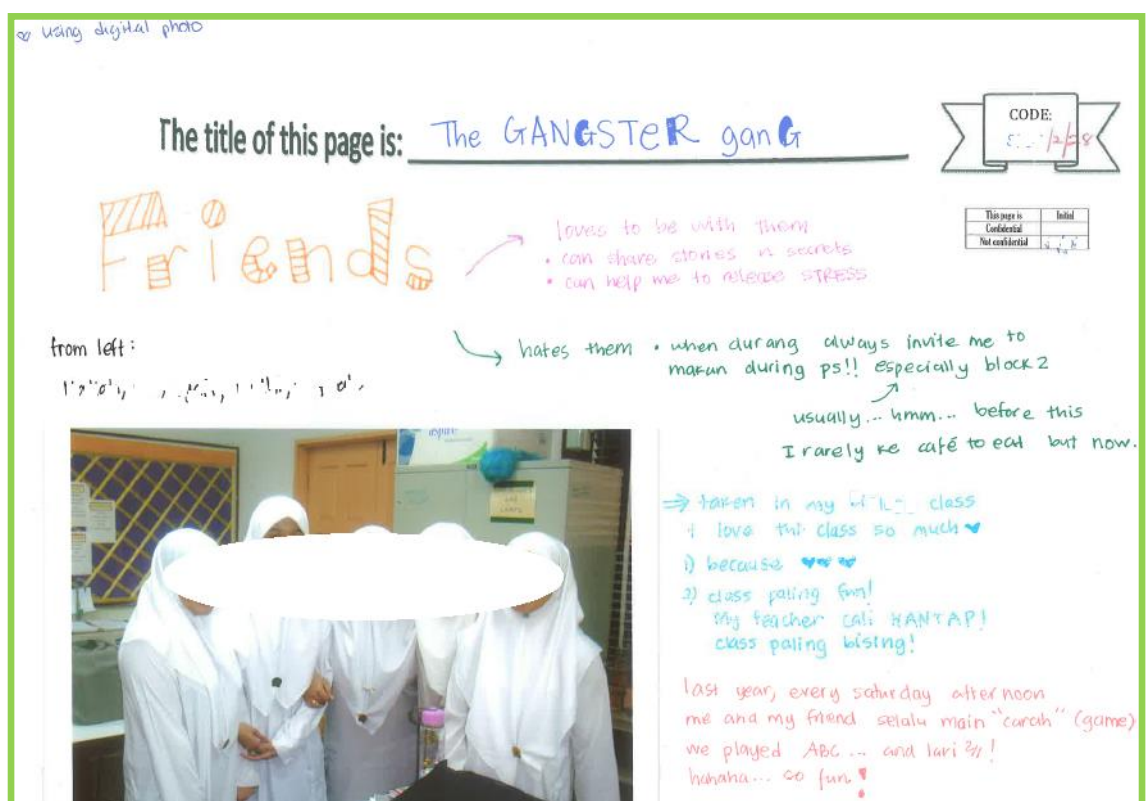


Figure 64: Ruby's 'gangster gang' friends (*MyAlbum/Ruby/2/28*)

[Translation of Figure 64]

The title of this page is: **The GANGSTER gang**

(clockwise)

Friends

- (I) love to be with them

- (We) can share stories in secret
- (They) can help me to release STRESS
- (I) hate them
 - When {they} always invite me to {eat} duringPS!! Especially block 2; usually ... hmm ... before this, I rarely {went to a} café to eat but now.
- (the picture) taken in my Ruby-SubjectA class, I love this class so much♥
 - 1) Because ♥♥♥
 - 2) {The most} fun class! My teacher {is EXTREMELY funny! The noisiest class}

Last year, every Saturday afternoon, me and my friend {always played “carah”} (game), we played ABC ... and {running}! Hahaha ...so fun!

From left:

Ruby-Friend1, Me, Hani, Farah, Ruby-Friend2

Although the contradiction between D(AS) and D(O) exists in the institutional practices, it seems that in friendship activity, the contradiction is experienced as a lesser conflict when compared to contradictions in the family or school institutional practice. Perhaps the lesser conflict experienced is due to overlap between academic study and friendship activities, rather than the two activities competing with each other. Furthermore, perhaps both motive-orientations with respect to the two activities are meaningful for the young people, for instance studying with a friend while having fun, challenging each other with academic test marks, just like the case of Ruby with her ‘good’ friend group (Figure 65). ‘The “good” friend’ for Ruby is mostly related to academic study. Both the academic study-related friendship activity and the previous academic successes that she shared with these friends are motivating for her. Similar to ‘the gangster gang’, Ruby also enjoys her friendship activity with ‘the “good” friend’ group, and indeed there was not even the slightest complaint about this group, like she ‘jokingly’ had about ‘the gangster gang’. Friendship activity with the friends with strong

academic study-related motive-orientation is simultaneous in addressing two motive-orientations: academic study-related motive-orientation and friendship related motive-orientation. A further discussion of Ruby's relation to academic study will be referred to in the next chapter.

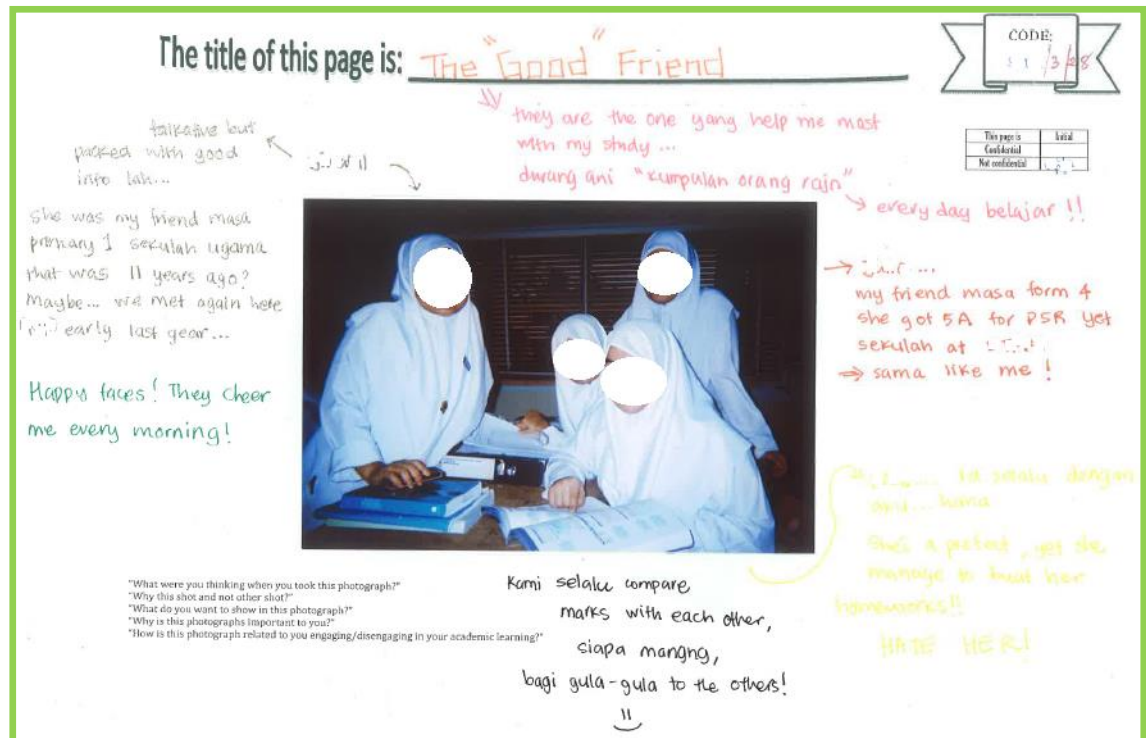


Figure 65: Ruby's 'the "good" friend' friends (MyAlbum.Ruby/3/28)

[Translation of Figure 65]

The title of this page is: THE "GOOD" FRIEND

(clockwise)

- They are the ones {who} help me most with my study ... {they are "the hardworking people"} → they study every day!!
- Ruby-Friend3
My friend {during} form 4, she got 5As for PSR⁶ already {(we go to School K)}

⁶ PSR (Penilaian Sekolah Rendah): a public exam taken at the end of Year 6 in primary school as the entrance exam for secondary school in Brunei Darussalam. The highest grades for this exam are 5As, which will allow a student to enter Paduka Seri Begawan Sultan Science College, a prestigious public (non-fee-paying) school in the country.

→ same as me!

- Ruby-Friend4

{She is always with me} ... haha

She's a prefect, yet she manages to {do} her homework!!

(I) HATE HER!

{We always} compare marks with each other, (who wins will give sweets to others! ☺

Happy faces! They cheer me every morning!

- Ruby-Friend5

Talkative but packed with good info {yeah} ...

She was my friend {during} Primary 1, Religious School⁷ that was 11 years ago?

May be we met again here (School L) early last year ...

On the other hand, friendship activity does not overlap with academic study activity in all friendship groups. In such cases, some SRs make an effort to separate academic study activity from friendship activity. The fact that this research gathered participants through a snowballing sampling method, as described in section 4.4.1 on page 66, there is a unique mix of young people recruited, including Sarah, Farah and Hani who belong to the same best friend circle. In the best friend circle, Hani has described that she and her two best friends (Figure 66) struggle to separate their academic study activity from their friendship activity. If they have arranged to do off-school academic study within their best friend group, the attention of the group always seems to be directed towards social activities, although they frequently remind each other to return to their initial intention, which was to focus on their academic study.

⁷ Religious school in Brunei Darussalam is separated from the main education system. Religious schools teach the Islamic curriculum and are run by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, while the main school teaches the general curriculum, including Islamic religious study as an academic subject, and is run by the Ministry of Education. It is obligatory by law that every Muslim child must attend both schools.

In the case of this best friend circle, Hani shows that, as a group, they should do well with their off-school academic study activity. In fact, Hani complained about Sarah who sometimes refused to join the best friends' off-school academic study group activity. Yet, incongruously, Hani herself could not stop the social friendship activity from starting and distracts the group from doing their off-school academic study- activity-related tasks. Furthermore, as said in Figure 67, if she needs to be more focussed on her off-school academic study-activity-related tasks; she has to do them away from her friendship activity. Perhaps the demands from the friendship activity she shares with her best friends have no significant overlap with her academic study. It could also be that Hani has a dominant friendship-related motive-orientation that comes into conflict with her academic study-related motive-orientation, meaning that she has to 'escape' one of them to be able to do the other activity. This is an example of the resolution of conflict between D(AS) and D(O) with respect to friendship activity.

The title of this page is: My lighted Path

These are my best friends, my time is usually wasted with them. We talk/gossip when we promised to do a study group the previous day. Among them, I'm the one that usually rationalises them so they will study. Farah will keep talking and talking about her friends/teachers/crushes/ Sarah will sometime spazz (speak enthusiastically) about her crush.

But at times when two of the three of us are drifted away, the other one will be the one who will wake us up from our dream. (it's always like that)

I sometimes teach them Hani-SubjectC, ∴ me understanding it better myself

(...)

Sarah (Picture of Sarah):

✓

- Sometimes she brings me to her family functions
 - To release stress, (she) likes to make me laugh
 - Sometimes when Farah is not available, I go to her house
-

X

- When I bring her for a study group with Farah, she sometimes refuses to go ...

Farah (Picture of Farah):

✓

- When I have to go back home at 4.30pm or later, I stay at her house
- When I have doubts in my Hani-SubjectB, I ask the teacher, then I ask her, I will understand it better if she teaches me

X

- Instead of studying, we spend our time talking

Figure 66: Hani's description of her two best friends, Sarah and Farah (MyA/Hani/10/27).

Jimmy: So {like}, how do you do your revision, like.... Maybe {there is some specific thing that should be there}...

Hani: Specific thing? Urrrm ... I can't have friends around me, that won't work, seriously ... Unless {even in study group}, I prefer study group with those {who}..

Jimmy: {study seriously}?

Hani: *Not really* { study seriously }, since in study group, {I am the one who is talkative right} I prefer those *yang* {who I have never been gossiping with, if they were, then (we will) end up gossiping about others} ...

Figure 67: Hani sharing her preference for her group study member (FGD/Post/M/P27-P30).

5.4.3.2 CDs in friendship activity

In friendship activity, the CD that a person has on the group as a whole or on individual members of the group seems to be subject to what the person perceives that the group or the individuals can offer in relation to their own motive-orientations. One of the examples to illustrate this subjective CD is Anna. As discussed in sub-section 5.2.1.6 on page 151, Anna has a very close best friend-like relationship with her elder sister. However, when her sister went to continue her study in the United Kingdom, Anna was left missing her. The promise made between them is for Anna to follow in her sister's footsteps to go to the UK, as can be seen from Figure 31 on page 153. In order to do that, Anna needs to do well in her academic study and earn her own scholarship to study at the same university as her sister. For Anna, her relationships with her friends seem to revolve around this academic study-activity-related motive-orientation.

Since her sister is temporarily away, Anna has been looking to her friends to fill in for her sister while still working towards the promise she and her sister made. From Anna's description in Figure 68, she said that her friends' role in her everyday life is to fill in for her sister while her sister is away. The counter-demand (CD) that Anna has for her friends to stand in for her sister is also evidenced by the fact that Anna did not mention any friend's name in her *MyAlbum*, as other SRs did. Anna did not discuss the role of her friends for her in the pre-focus group discussion (pre-FGD) that she participated in either. This seems to imply the 'less personal' relationship that she has with her friends. Anna's CD is for her friends to fill in for her sister during the activities they used to share, namely friendship activity and academic study activity, while she concentrates on her academic study in order to be with her sister. On a separate note, the distance between her and her friends may perhaps suggest that her friendship-related motive-orientation is not of sense-making motive as her academic study motive-orientation.



Figure 68: Anna regarded her friends as filling in for her sister, who is currently studying abroad (*MyAlbum/Anna/21/23*)

On the other hand, Ruby's case offered another example to show that the CD from a young person towards their friends is subject to what they perceive their friends can offer them in relation to their own motive-orientation. Coming from a family where academic success is part of its tradition of practice, Ruby herself has strong academic study-related motive-orientation. The group of friends she labelled as 'good' friends seems to fit directly into her CD, which is to support her with her academic study. She seems to have fun with the 'good' friends group while the group share a common goal in relation to academic study. Meanwhile, she seems to perceive her 'gangster gang' friends as a distraction to her academic study activity. Nonetheless, the 'gangster gang' seems to fit into Ruby's CD for social friendship activity.

Farah, on the other hand, presented an interesting *MyAlbum* page (Figure 69) that happens to be similar to Ruby's page on 'the gangster gang' (Figure 64, page 197)⁸. For Farah, the people in the picture are her friends from her previous school, identified by her as high academic achievers, who she claimed had motivated her and supported her with her study. Farah's CD for this group of friends is for support with respect to her academic study-related motive-

⁸ Ruby and Farah take these similar pictures respectively, of them and their friends, but describe them differently, in relation to how they perceived the group of friends could support them.

orientation. The difference between Farah and Ruby's relationships with the same group of friends shows that a young person may have a CD for support not only in relation to their own motive-orientation, but also what they perceive their friends to be capable of supporting.

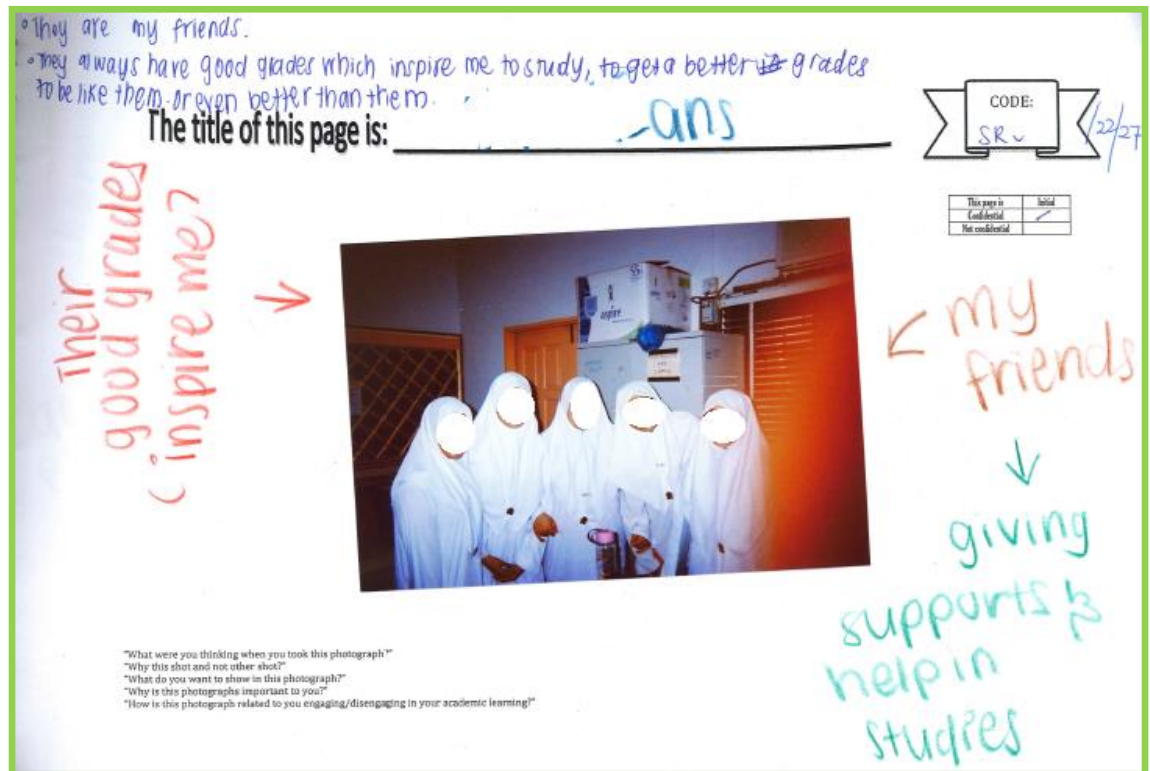


Figure 69: Farah's description of her friends who came from the same previous school as her (*MyAlbum*/Farah/22/27) (Note: the picture in this *MyAlbum* is similar to Ruby's picture in Figure 64, page197)

A similar pattern of CD on friends with respect to a person's own motive-orientation is also manifested in best friend circles. Sarah, Farah and Hani each described the other two in their *MyAlbum*, as well as their other friends outside the best friend circle, including Ruby and Anna. For them, their best friend circle to a certain extent provides a platform for them to support each other with regards to academic study. Sarah seems to have been viewed by both Farah and Hani as a source of emotional support. She seems to be able to calm them down when they are stressed in their academic study activity, as well as school activity in general, as described by Hani in Figure 66 and Farah in Figure 70. Similarly, Sarah considered the best friend circle as helping her to make her school life fun, which can be seen in Figure 71 and Figure 72. From both the figures, Sarah

seems to combine the thought of having fun and studying together with her best friends⁹.

The title of this page is: Gorgeous

- She is a motivator, inspirator, advisor, best friend, sister, mother to me
- We sometimes went to her house to hangout and study with my other friend, Hani

(...)

Figure 70: Farah's description of Sarah as supporting her emotionally (MyA/Farah/25/27).

The title of this page is: A MOMENT TO REMEMBER

(Picture of Farah, Hani and Anna having breakfast at Sarah's house before they leave for one of the pre-research training session days)

*(Together Forever) Yes we will always be ^_ ^ xoxo sisters.

(...)

*My best friends are my everything. They are the ones that would always be there for me and with them by my side, I could survive this college life HAPPILY ^_ ^ . IDK (I don't know), study is more FUN and EXCITING with them. I'LL BE A TOTAL LONER IF WITHOUT THEM, AND SCHOOL FEELS LIKE DEAD AND EMPTY. THANK GOD I MOVED (to) COLLEGE WHERE THEY ARE NOW ^_ ^'

(...)

Figure 71: Sarah's description of her best friend circle 1 (Extracted from MyAlbum/Sarah/24/24).

⁹ Although Anna is in the picture, she does not belong to Farah, Sarah and Hani's circle of best friends. She is in the picture because she joined the sleepover at Sarah house, as the sleepover was organised by them on one of the pre-research training session nights.

The title of this page is: Adorable Amazing Friends

(Picture of Sarah, Farah, Hani and Anna in the car going back to Sarah's house where they are sleeping over on one of the pre-research training session nights)

(...)

Me and my friends ♥. They are my supporters, sisters and people that inspire me to work hard and get an awesome grade

(...)

Figure 72: Sarah's description of her best friends 2 (Extracted from *MyAlbum/Sarah/21/24*).

Farah and Hani seem to have an additional take on their best friend relationship. Both of them shared in their *MyAlbum* that they help each other with their academic work. According to Farah, Hani helps her with Farah-SubjectC, which Hani is good at. Hani also commented that Farah always helps her with Hani-subjectC, and she understands Farah even better than her own teacher (Figure 66; page 202). With this collaboration, Hani and Farah consider each other as partners in their study, with each one helping the other with the subject that she is good at. From the analysis of the best friend activity, this seems to support the inference that the CD from a young person towards a friend and/or best friend is generally related to the person's motive-orientation, which can be connected with academic study activity or friendship activity. The CD of the young person is always in the form of support with respect to what the friends are perceived as able to provide.

5.5 D(O) – in the school institutional practice – CCA

This section discusses co-curricular activity (CCA), a demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), and its contradiction to demand for academic study, D(AS), in the school institutional practice. With respect to the young people, CCA seems to be subordinated to two motive-orientations, the vocational and career-oriented and the social relation motive-orientations. In relation to the demand and counter-demand model (D-CD), the young people do counter-demand support from the school institution with respect to CCA. The end of this section will discuss the fact that CCA is more than just ‘fun’ but seems to be oriented towards some sort of a ‘time-out’ nature, which is termed in this thesis as ‘self-comfort’. A follow up to the ‘self-comfort’ orientation is presented in the following section.

5.5.1 D(O) – CCA

Co-curricular activity (CCA) in school is considered important since it is one of the initiatives that supports the Ministry of Education’s mission to ‘provide holistic education to achieve fullest potential for all (Appendix 1). CCA is the second most prominent activity in the school institutional practice after academic study activity. Generally, it is necessary and even compulsory for young people to participate in the school’s CCA. School K, for instance, has included this CCA-related, which is demand for other than academic study, D(O), for its students in the school Student Handbook, as can be seen in Figure 73. From the figure, there is a requirement for a minimum number of hours that students need to be involved in the CCA of their choice.

INVOLVEMENT OF STUDENTS IN EXTRA AND CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITY

{It is compulsory for each student to enrol in at least one co-curricular activity to allow development of the mind and body and self-experience. All students are also required to be involved in the selected club for at least 40 hours a year, that is (for 2 hours) every two weeks}.

(...)

Figure 73: Guide for CCA extracted from School L's Student Handbook.

Making CCA a school institutional requirement has been manifested as a relatively strong demand on the young people in the school. The demand can be detected through the experiences described by the SRs. For instance, Ruby, in one of the pre-research focus group discussions (pre-FGD), Figure 74, said that failure to attend a CCA activity may risk being expelled from the CCA club.

Yusuf: (..) How do you divide your time for studying and other matters? (...) how about Ruby, can you share?

Ruby: 'Umm for me... I'm not really the type of organised person... {that is why like CCA [Co-curricular activities] usually like} every afternoon, {then} every classes we have practical classes, {then like which one should [I] attend ... that's like} if we didn't come for the, club, {that, that club, we will be kicked out, then but} practical classes are more important ... {because} studies, studies are always the number one priority (right) for us, {then like} we leave it ... {just that, then like if} if practical classes you come for practical classes ... {like if if they do not clash with the club} with any other classes ... {then attend the club}'

Figure 74: Ruby explaining the clash between her academic study activity and CCA (FGD/Pre/M/P6-P7).

Another example is Farah, who said that the CCA club that she joined will pursue her consistently for her to attend the club activity, even when she is trying to avoid it to focus on her academic study. Her irritation with the situation can be seen in Figure 75.

Farah: Urrrm, for me ... urm ..., I actually have a ... I have a timetable which I depend on but then ... nowadays, I start to {like ... (I) do not stick anymore} to the timetable as a lot of unexpected things happen ... (...). From what I heard from my friends ... they said that timetable is ... it actually ... urm ... urm,

Hani: Not working

Farah: Actually, not ... yeah, not working, because as I told you that there are other unexpected things that might happen and then ... it is really difficult to discipline our self, when we get into higher (level of) education ...

Jimmy: You said, other stuff that distracts you... like what actually?

Farah: Like, ECAs (extra-curricular activities), there ... urm ..., ECAs, aa ... in School L, the ECA it is not really {like ... that, the meeting is haywire} ... that's why...

(...)

Jimmy: Is it bothering you Farah?

Farah: Urrrrmmm, actually ... yes, actually yes, because, urm ... {right} usually {if we study then} we (will) have that mood already {right, then there is this} last-minute meeting, {like} okay I have to go, {after the meeting, its guaranteed the mood to (study) will not be there ... it disappears}, because we're too tired, because of this meeting (...)

Figure 75: Farah lamented the demand of her CCA that distracted her from her academic study (FGD/Post/M/P5-P7).

The examples from both Ruby and Farah show the demand for CCA in the school institutional practice that is experienced by them respectively. In addition, with respect to Farah, although she has tried to resolve the conflict between her CCA and her study and other chores through factoring them into her pre-planned timetable, she finds this difficult due to the lack of structure in her CCA club. With respect to the demand and counter-demand (D-CD) relation, the unsystematic CCA organisation in her school has not supported her in managing the conflicting demands. This has not only affected her in the school institution, but also with managing the demands from her family practice.

5.5.2 School D(O) - CCA and conflicting demand with D(AS)

With respect to young people participating in CCA, the empirical analysis shows that there are two main patterns of CCA-related motive-orientation. The first is vocational and career-oriented, where CCA is taken by the young people as a prerequisite for entrance to university. Second is related to the notion of having fun and social interaction outside the classroom and away from academic study activity.

For some of the young people in this study, participation in the school's CCA is perceived as additional 'credits' for them to enter university. This is illustrated by Farah and Sarah, who implied in their *MyQuestionnaire* that CCA could help them to pursue further study (Figure 76) and determine their future (Figure 77).

Q: You are very active in CCA, why do you choose to take more than two CCAs when you're allowed to take just one?

A: Because it will be useful to continue further study

Figure 76: The importance of CCA for furthering study – Suzy (MyQ/Suzy/P4/SuzyQ2).

Q: How important are studying and other activities to you?

A: All are important (studying and other activities in CCA) because they can determine my future

Figure 77: The importance of CCA for the future – Farah (MyQ/Farah/P4/SarahQ4).

Ruby provides a more explicit example of the importance of CCA with respect to vocational and career motive-orientation. In one of her *MyAlbum* pages (Figure 78), Ruby said 'to go to university, I must be active in my CCAs and excel in my academic study; aims for more certificates'. In her case, CCA together with academic study, has become her goal in relation to a successful future.

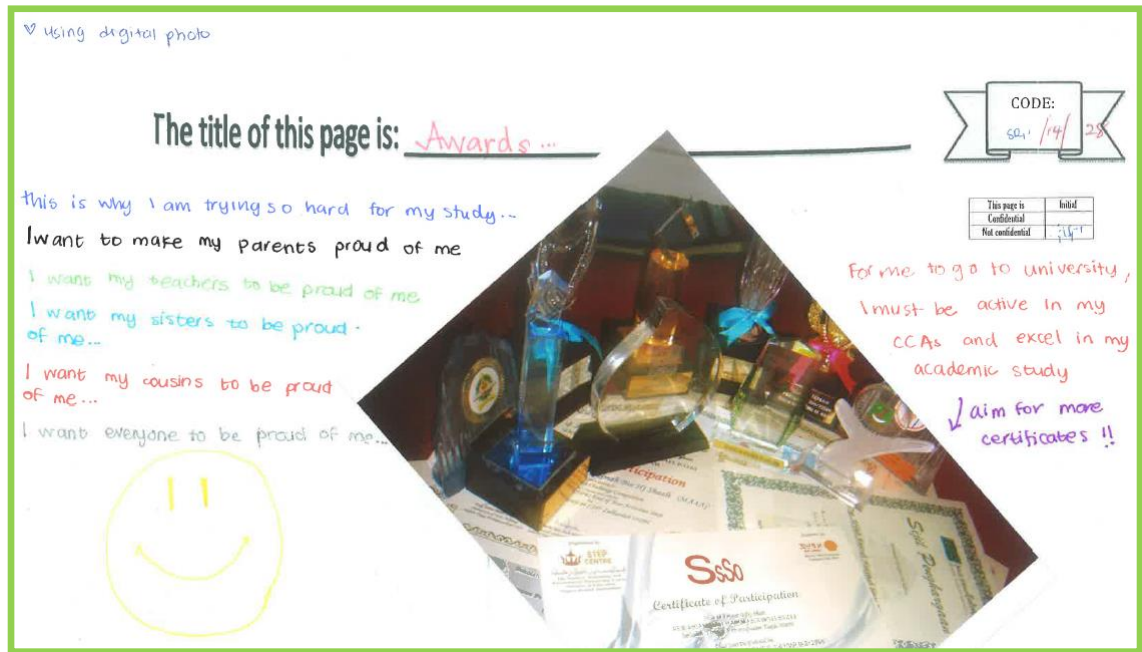


Figure 78: Ruby seeing CCA as part of the means of going to university (*MyAlbum*/Ruby/14/28)

Nonetheless, despite the fact that CCA is seen by the young people as complementing academic study in order to pursue further study at university level, the inherent contradiction between the demand for academic study D(AS) and CCA-related demand for other than academic study, D(O), does emerge as a conflict experienced by them. For instance, although both CCA and academic study are the goals subsumed within Ruby's motive-orientation, the two activities still pose conflict for her in her everyday life within the school institutional practice. She explained the clash in timetable between her CCA club and her classes in the pre-research focus group discussion (pre-FGD), as can be seen in Figure 74 on page 209. In the example, the contradiction between the D(AS) and D(O) with respect to CCA in the school institutional practice appeared in the form of clashes in the timetable for the respective activities.

The D(O) for CCA seems to be strong in the school institution, as Ruby said 'if we didn't come for the club, {that, that club, we will be kicked out (...) }'. A strong D(O) which contradicts the inherently dominant D(AS) in the school institution may cause intense conflict for the young people. However, in the case of Ruby, she chose her academic study over her CCA in such a clash. From Ruby's example, although she admitted in her *MyAlbum* (Figure 78) that both academic

study and CCA are important for her to get to university, her choice of academic study over CCA shows that academic study is a more dominant goal than CCA with respect to her motive-orientations. Theoretically, this implies not only that motive-orientation is hierarchically organised, but that subordinated goals are too.

On the other hand, CCA also serves to fulfil the young people's other motive-orientation, namely the orientation to social relations, which is also related to friendship activity. Sarah and Anna, for instance, regarded CCA as fun and relaxing, providing them with a break from their academic study. For Hani on the other hand, CCA provides her with a space to enjoy her friendship with her friends, and this is the reason why she chooses more than one CCA at her school (Figure 79).

Q: You are very active in CCA, why do you choose to take more than two CCAs when you're allowed to take just one CCA?

A: Because all my friends are in different CCAs and I want to be with them.

Figure 79: CCA and friendship activity - Hani (MyQ/Hani/P1/SuzyQ2).

However, in contrast to the D(AS)-D(O) contradiction in the family institutional practice, its contradiction in the school institutional practice seems to result in milder conflict for the young people. Perhaps this is accounted for by the over-dominance of academic study activity in the school institutional practice, as culturally and historically embodied in the societal practice. Moreover, for some of the young people, the CCA supports their futuristic vocational and career related motive-orientation.

Some of the young people in this research considered CCA as 'fun' and they placed emphasis on the social relationships that it allowed them to develop. Others even took CCA as fulfilling a bigger part of their desire for leisure and space of their own. In this research, this desire is referred to as 'self-comfort', and will be discussed in the following section.

5.6 Self-comfort related activities - another D(O)

Self-comfort related activities in this research refers to those of a 'leisure nature' and were considered by some of the young people as 'time-out' from academic study activity and other activities that are demanded on them by the institutional practices. The self-comfort related activities seem to be a compendium of activities that meet young people's need for relaxation from the contradicting demand for academic study, D(AS) and demand for other than academic study, D(O), in both the family and the school institutional practices. Activities categorised under self-comfort related activities which are prominent among the young people in this study, are internet-related activity and other activities such as watching films, doing sport and reading novels. These activities can be considered as commonly coming under the umbrella term of 'hobbies'. Self-comfort activities may also encompass 'doing nothing' or being 'off-task', for example excessive sleeping and 'being lazy'.

With respect to the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111), self-comfort related activities are considered as another demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), that comes into contradiction with the demand for academic study, D(AS) and other demands for other than academic study, D(O)s. However, D(O) with respect to self-comfort is more of a self-inflicted demand, and hence it is more likely that it is sense-making motive for the young people. With respect to the scope of this research, the objective-motive which the 'self-comfort' activity is oriented towards is not explored further, as it is a phenomenon that has emerged from the analysis of empirical data for this research. Perhaps though, it is an activity that develops because of the relatively lower dominance of the D(AS) and the other D(O)s. Self-comfort related activities may be related to an existing objective-motive that is of a social nature, perhaps the 'remnants' of the leading activity from the previous developmental period of early adolescence.

Generally, the young women perceive that they receive limited support from the institutional practice with respect to these self-comfort related activities. Many times, as illustrated by the empirical data in this research, these self-comfort related activities evolve into meaningful activities for the young people and come

into contradiction with the D(AS) and D(O) in the institutional practice. At times, self-comfort related activities seem to be prominent for the young people and to compromise their academic study activity and other activities that are demanded by the institutional practice. As the data in this study show, the contradiction between self-comfort related activities and academic study activity can indeed lead to intense conflict, especially in the period leading up to examinations.

Three examples of self-comfort related activities are sleeping time, hobbies and internet activities, all of which the young women find difficult to compromise. Figure 80, shows four SRs who responded to the *MyQuestionnaire* and considered two of the self-comfort related activities as being hard to sacrifice. Most of the SRs emphasised their sleep as something that is very important for them.

Q: What are the things in your 'everyday life' that were the hardest to sacrifice?
Why?

Anna A: Sleep – because I need sleep.

Suzy A: hardest to sacrifice

-If I watch cartoons and Korean drama, Kpop. Because I want to know what happens next (story).

-(I) want to find new songs, so easy to download

Hani A: Sleeping time, if I had to choose between sleeping and studying, I'd choose sleeping.

Ruby A: Novels! I can't stop reading Malay novels. I'd rather {not do} homework {to finish} one novel ♥.

Figure 80: The young people's 'self-comfort' activity which competes with academic study activity (MyQ/SRs/Me/P1/Q3).

Indeed, when asked how important interests and hobbies are, the SRs admitted that these are important to balance the activities in their everyday lives, as summarised in Figure 81.

Q: In your opinion, aren't interests or hobbies more important?

Hani A: No, but self-comfort is

Sarah A: {it's the same}

Ruby A: More important? {Than what}? Studying ... equally important ...
 hobbies {for} healthy body, healthy body {then have the spirit to
 study}

Anna A: Yes

Farah A: hobbies and interests can make us relax and can relieve our
 stress

Suzy A: Yes, very important.

Figure 81: The young people's opinion of the importance of hobbies (MyQ/SRs/P7/ Harris 3).

In addition, internet activity is one of the 'self-comfort' activities that seemed to dominate other activities for some of the young people. Hani and Anna provide examples of internet activity in their everyday lives which appear to be in deep conflict with their academic study, as can be seen in Figure 82. From the table, one of Anna's hobbies is surfing the internet, which she admitted that she spends at least four hours every night doing. According to her, this has affected her academic study and compromised her academic study activity related tasks. The same case can be seen for Hani too, where internet activity is one of the 'self-comfort' activities that consumed her time and left none for her academic study. Although Hani in her *MyQuestionnaire* said that internet activity does not really affect her academic study, in one of her FGD, she admitted that the activity does compete with her academic study intensely.

The question	Q: What is your favourite hobby? (MyQ/SRs/P5/HarrisQ1)	Q: Does your interest/hobby affect your learning? (MyQ/SRs/P2/YusufQ2)	Q: How much time a night do you spend on the internet in comparison to your study? (MyQ/SRs/P/HaniQ1)	Q: (...) Do you procrastinate? What makes you distracted? (MyQ/SRs/P/HaniQ1)
Anna	A: Watching DVDs and surfing the internet.	A: Yes!	A: 4 hours surfing the internet	A: (...) I do procrastinate. The internet, cousins, cats, family distract me.
Hani	A: Sleep, internet.	A: Not really.	A: A lot of time on the internet, none for study.	[did not answer the question]

Figure 82: Internet activity comes into conflict with academic study for Hani and Anna.

Another SR, Sarah, also found that the internet gets in the way of her academic study. As can be seen in Figure 83, Sarah grumbled about her internet activity which she could get lost in for many hours. Hakim and Suzy also agreed with the ‘mesmerising’ effect of internet activity.

Suzy: Urm what are the other matters that always get in the way of your studies? (...)

(...)

Sarah: Urm ... I think for me urm the thing/matters that always

	distract me urm my study is urm internet especially net blogging and stuff yeah and other interesting things
	(...)
Hakim:	I agree with her that urm social networking like facebook and twitter and also I always urm keep urm doing other non-important things
	(...)
Sarah:	Yeah. The most problem is uuh like {suppose} that we want to check facebook {right} and then ok ... just like half an hour but then when we check the time we've spent like more than 6 hours in front of the screen, you know ... I think that's it's like ... we're not being disciplined enough
Suzy:	So, welcome to the club (giggles)

Figure 83: Sarah's internet activity gets in the way of her academic study activity.

Indeed, as self-comfort related activities seem to be important and meaningful for the young people, they appeared as a CD from the young people towards the different institutional practices. As can be seen in the flowchart (Figure 21, page 119), a stronger CD indicates the importance of the related motive-orientation for the young people. In the case of Hani, self-comfort related activity seems to be important and meaningful for her and mostly supersedes the importance of other activities including academic study.

It is important to note that although the objective-motive that self-comfort related activities are oriented towards is not clear, the noticeable conflict that is generated from its contradiction with academic study activity cannot be ignored.

5.7 The societal value system

So far this chapter has analysed the demands, counter-demands, conflict and conflict resolution as experienced by the Student Researchers (SRs). During this analysis, it has emerged that the societal value system, which can place explicit

or implicit demands on the young people, does not just provide the guiding principles that underline the acceptable ways for a person to act in different societal activities. Indeed, subtly it is also the object that the young people can be oriented towards. In fact, for Farah, this motive-orientation is important and relatively high in her motive hierarchy (see Section 6.5, page 263).

As discussed in sub-section 5.1.1 on page 127, Brunei Darussalam has a societal value system that is enacted through the Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB). This value system serves as the guiding principle for the functioning of society. From the discussion of the empirical data analysis and interpretation so far, the role of this value system in guiding activities in the practice is apparent, for instance in the implicit obligation to attend family functions (sub-section 5.3.3, page 175) and the limitation of personal relationships with school teachers (sub-section 5.4.1, page 183).

However, it is also apparent from some of the ways in which the SRs resolve conflicts, that the value system is not only important in guiding how activities function in the practice, but that it can also become the object towards which the motive of the young people is oriented. An example of this assertion can be seen in Farah's intention to study hard and earn a good salary in order to help to lift the standard of living of her parents (sub-section 5.2.1.5, page 150).

In terms of projecting the value system as the guiding principle for the functioning of society, the data analysis shows two ways that this is done. First is explicit in the form of written rules, for instance the requirement for school students to be in the classroom on time or to study a specific academic subject. Second is implicit, for instance the expectation that young people pay attention in the classroom while the teacher is teaching. An example of the young people's response to this demand can be seen in sub-section 5.4, on page 181.

5.8 Chapter summary

In responding to the first research sub-question, (1.1, page 22), this chapter sought to understand the multiple contradicting demands as experienced by young people in Brunei Darussalam. An intermediate model, the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model (Figure 18, page 111) was dialectically

developed through the data analysis process to maintain the objectivity of the process. From the empirical data analysis, the two prominent institutional practices which young people in Brunei generally participate in are the family and school institutional practices. Following the holistic approach guided by Hedegaard's model (

Figure 1, page 30), this research has looked at the dialectical relation between the societal perspective, institutional perspective and individual perspective to understand the relation of young people and academic study. Discussions around the broader societal context were presented at the beginning of the chapter to suggest the societal objects which the objective-motives of the different institutional practices are oriented towards. This discussion was followed by a presentation of the summary of the demand for academic study, D(AS), and demands for activities other than academic study, D(O), in the context of Brunei Darussalam, as captured from the analysis of the empirical data.

A summary of the various activities across the institutional practices in the context of Brunei Darussalam that emerged from the empirical analysis of this study can be seen in Figure 84. In the figure, the various activities across the institutional practices that were substantial for analysing the young people in this research were mapped against Hedegaard's model of children's learning and development in institutionalised practice (Figure 1, page 30), which has inspired the holistic approach of the analysis.

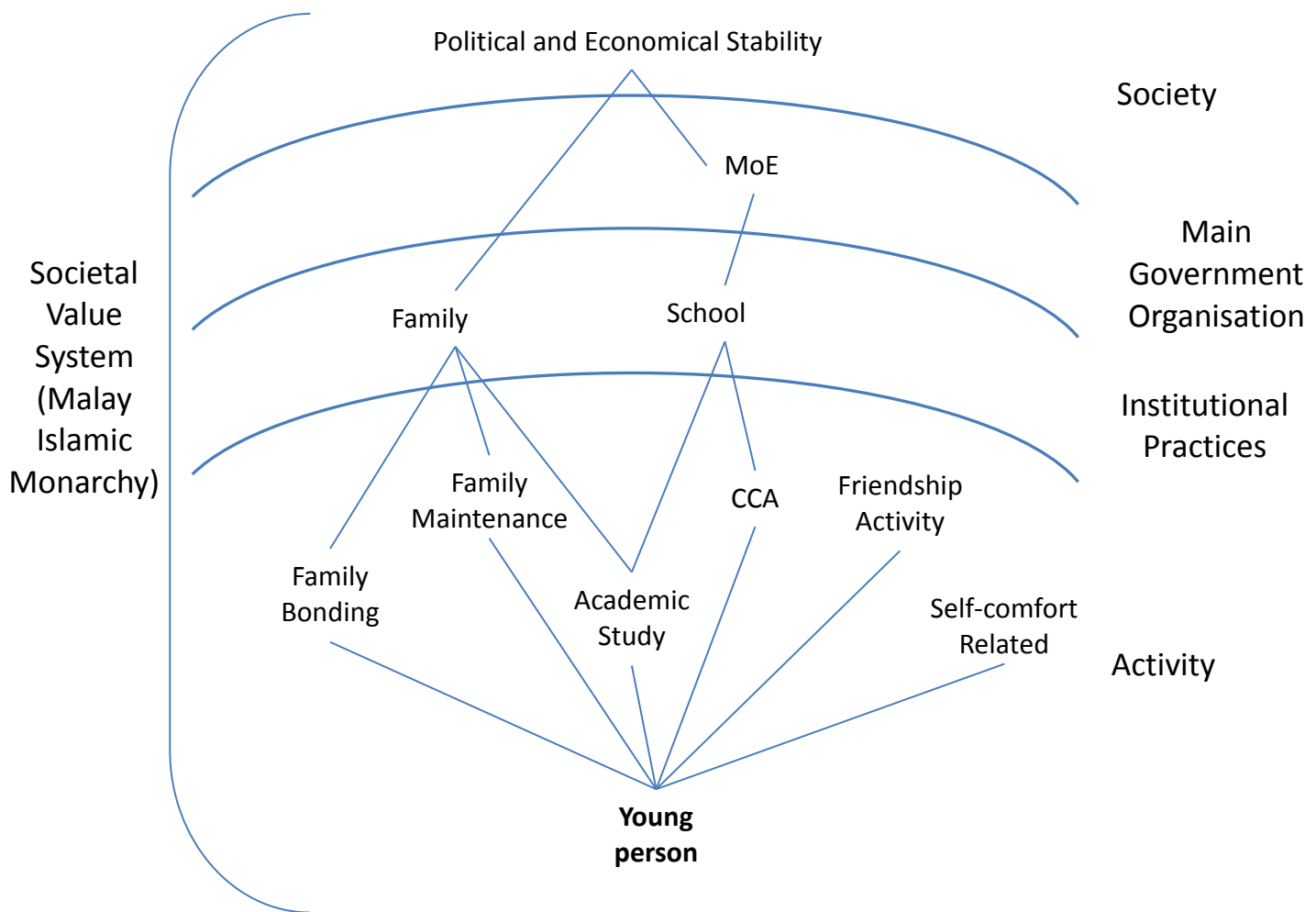


Figure 84: The activities across the institutional practices that project demands towards the young people in the context of Brunei Darussalam

As the analysis process advanced, activities within the family institutional practice were categorised further to allow for differentiation of the motive-orientations of the young people to be identified. The three categories of activity identified for family institutional practice were off-school academic study activity, family maintenance activity and family bonding activity. These three activities generally contradict each other. Many of the SRs, however, see family bonding activity as more meaningful than family maintenance activity. On the other hand, although academic study activity contradicts the other two activities, it dominates during certain periods of time, such as the period leading up to examinations.

Meanwhile, in the school institution, the main activity is indeed academic study activity which is projected as the D(AS) towards the young people. The D(O) in the school institutional practice comes from CCA activity and friendship activity. The demands that are projected from each of these activities have been shown in this chapter to be contradicting and experienced as conflict by the Student Researcher (SRs).

Counter-demands, CD, from young people towards the respective practices are always related to what they expect from the practices in terms of what is important and meaningful for them. CD is also related to what the young people perceive that the people and the institutions in the practices can offer them. With respect to the D(AS) on them, the CD, from the young people towards family members is always the expectation for understanding and support for them to do their off-school academic study activity at home. Within the school institutional practice, the expectation is that teachers will support them professionally and personally. The young people also expect support and understanding from their peers, such as classmates and seatmates. Nonetheless, the demand and counter-demand, D-CD, between the young people and their friends and best friend circle is more complicated. There is always a need to juggle academic study activity and friendship activity, where both activities seem to be of similar importance to them. The analysis of the data also shows two emerging phenomena, namely the centrality of the societal value system as the societal object that the young people's motive(s) is/are oriented towards; and the self-comfort related motive-orientation.

This chapter has explored the multiple demands that the young people in Brunei Darussalam face. This exploration of the contradicting demands has revealed the conflicts that the young people in the country are facing. However, since the young people happened to be all young women, the multiple demands might not be covering demands faced by the opposite gender. This potential bias in terms of representation of the young people in Brunei Darussalam is discussed in sub-section 7.2.4 on page 290.

In the next chapter, the actions taken by the young people to resolve those conflicts will be analysed and interpreted following the guidelines in Figure 20 on

page 118 and the Flowchart in Figure 21 page 119. The interpretation would lead to the identification of the dominance of different motive-orientations in order to determine the motive hierarchy of a particular SR. The interpretation of four of the SRs' relation to academic study is dialectically done through, and led to the construction of this empirically-grounded model.

6. Analysis II

The focus of this chapter is to construct an empirically-grounded theoretical model to describe the relation of young people to academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam. This effort is in response to the second research sub-question and correspondingly the main research question (sub-section 1.1, page 22). This chapter will present an analysis towards supporting the development of the Model of Motive Hierarchy. The analysis of the data here has two main purposes. First to support the developing model through the identification of the systemic internal relationships, i.e. the multiple motive-orientations with relative importance to each other that forms the motive hierarchy of a person. Second is to interpret the empirical cases of young people's relation to academic study from the developing Model of Motive Hierarchy. In Davydov's (1990) concept, the first purpose corresponds to the concept of 'Reduction' while the second corresponds to the concept of 'Ascent'. According to him, these two concepts are dialectical in nature and can only be achieved through a process of analysis and synthesis, which is what this chapter is trying to achieve.

The empirical analysis in this chapter taps on the multiple demands imparted onto the young women that were explored in the previous chapter. These multiple contradicting demands generate conflicts, particularly with respect to the demand for academic study activity which is the focus of this research. In this chapter, the actions taken by the SRs to resolve these conflicts is analysed and interpreted. The analysis of this conflict resolution is guided by the Guidelines for analysing the empirical data for demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolutions (Figure 20, page 118). Meanwhile, the interpretation of the results in order to infer the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy of each of the selected SRs is guided by the flowchart in Figure 21, on page 119. This process is in dialectic with the construction of the Model of Motive Hierarchy.

Among the young people who have participated in this research as Student Researchers (SR), four of them; Ruby, Hani, Sarah and Farah were analysed further to support the development of the model. These four young women were chosen mainly because the depth of the data they provided portrays the richness

of their family and school contexts (see sub-section 4.4.1, page 66). It is important to note that it is not the intention of this study to describe the relation of individual SRs who are involved in this research to academic study, but to come to a general empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study, in the context of Brunei.

6.1 The Model of Motive Hierarchy

The developing empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study is indeed the Model of Motive Hierarchy. Motive hierarchy is assumed to be composed of the relational organisation of motive-orientations (MOs) of the sense-forming motives and stimulating motives, of a person. This assumption concurs with the assertion by Leontiev (1978) that the relative importance of the objective-motives of the different activities across the institutional practices appears to young people through their personal sense and this is represented as motive-orientation. The organisation of the motive-orientations according to their relative importance to each other forms each young person's motive hierarchy (see Section 3.2 from page 48).

The Model of Motive Hierarchy, as can be seen in Figure 85, is a three-tiered structure. The lowest tier in the model refers to the Activity band, followed by the Goal band in the middle and then the Motive-Orientation (MO) band in the top tier.

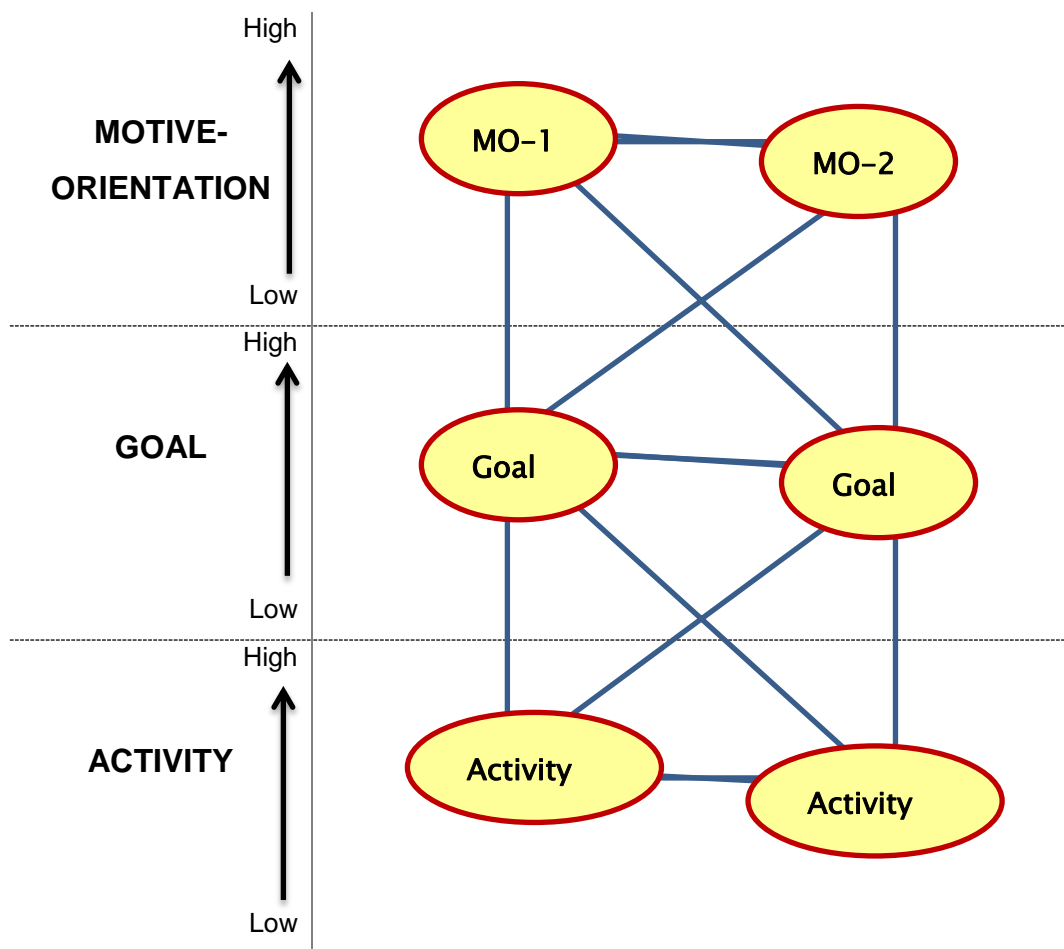


Figure 85 The developing empirically-grounded model of the relation of young people to academic study – Model of Motive Hierarchy

The Activity in the model refers to the activities across the main institutional practices, which the young people participate in. In this tier, the activities are arranged according to their importance and meaningfulness for the young person. This can be identified through analysing their reactions towards the different activities, particularly their respective conflict resolutions across the different activities. Through analysing the young people's resolution of different conflicts, a persistent pattern of orientation to one or more specific goal(s) would emerge. The pattern identified not only included the important and meaningful goals that the young person is oriented towards, but also the relative importance among the goals to the young person.

The MO can be identified if there are one or more important goals which are oriented towards it. Meanwhile, the MO is relatively dominant if the actions to resolve the conflict between tasks connected to the different goals that are inclined towards it. From the empirical analysis, there is evidence that seems to suggest that an MO can support another MO. In other words, an MO can subordinate another MO, for instance in Ruby's motive hierarchy (Figure 86, page 229). Furthermore, academic study could be a goal that subordinates one or more independent MOs, or MOs that are related through subordination. The importance of academic study to a person would depend on the relative importance of the MO that subordinates it as a goal (see section 3.2 on page 48). Indeed, theoretically, academic study activity can be the object that young people are oriented towards. However, in this study, none of the SRs studied has academic study as the objective-motive that they are oriented towards. Instead the academic study becomes the goal that subordinates other objective-motives such as intimate personal relations or futuristic career- and vocational-oriented motives.

In the physical drawing of the model, the arrangement of the activities, the goals and the MOs should follow the direction of the vertical axis for the respective bands. An activity or a goal or an MO that is of relatively less priority to a young person should be drawn relatively lower than the other activities or goals or MOs that are of higher priority to the person, within the respective bands/tiers. For instance, MO-1, being the most dominant motive-orientation, should be drawn slightly higher than MO-2 and so on. Furthermore, the activities that help to identify the important goals and their relative priority to each other should be connected through lines. Similarly, the different goals that support the identification of the different MOs and their relative priority to each other should be connected via lines too. Examples of how this model is drawn for a specific person can be seen in the subsequent sub-sections.

As the Model of Motive Hierarchy is a theoretical model that consists of underlying systemic relations through which the relation of young person to academic study could be identified, it should be put to test. The subsequent sub-sections will explain the relation of four of the young women to academic

study through the Model of Motive Hierarchy, and this process according to Davydov (1990) is the process of Ascent to the concrete. The protocols that were developed and described earlier (see sub-section 4.4.5 from page 100), and specifically Figure 19 on page 114 and Figure 20 on page 118 were referred to in this process. The description of each of the four SRs begins with their respective motive hierarchy that was inferred from the analysis of their empirical data. This is followed by a presentation of the empirical evidence to justify the inferences.

SR, Ruby, is presented first in this chapter. Her motive hierarchy will be presented with explicit reference to the tools developed in Chapter 4. This is in order to show how the tools that were developed dialectically between the theory and analysis of the empirical data are used in the analysis and interpretation of the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy. Hani's case will then be presented as an example of a case where the individual motive-orientations can be determined, but the relative importance of the different motive-orientations to each other is inconclusive due to the lack of data on the conflicts between the different activities concerned. In the analysis and interpretation of the other SRs' MOs, Sarah and Farah, there will be less reference to the guidelines and flowchart as the process is similar to those elaborated for Ruby.

6.2 Ruby's relation to academic study

From the analysis of Ruby's data, it is inferred that of her motive-orientations (MOs), continuing her family tradition of academic success is her utmost priority (MO-1). Her subsequent MOs are: vocational and career motive-orientation (MO-2), intimate personal relationships (family bonding- sister) (MO-3), self-comfort related motive-orientation (MO-4) and intimate personal relationships (friends) (MO-5). The relative importance of Ruby's MOs, which represent her motive hierarchy, is represented in Figure 86 on page 229. As explained earlier, the diagram also shows the different goals which are subsumed under the respective MOs, as well as the activities through which the respective goals were supported. Basically, those activities that are shown in the diagram have emerged to be important and meaningful for Ruby in relation to her academic study.

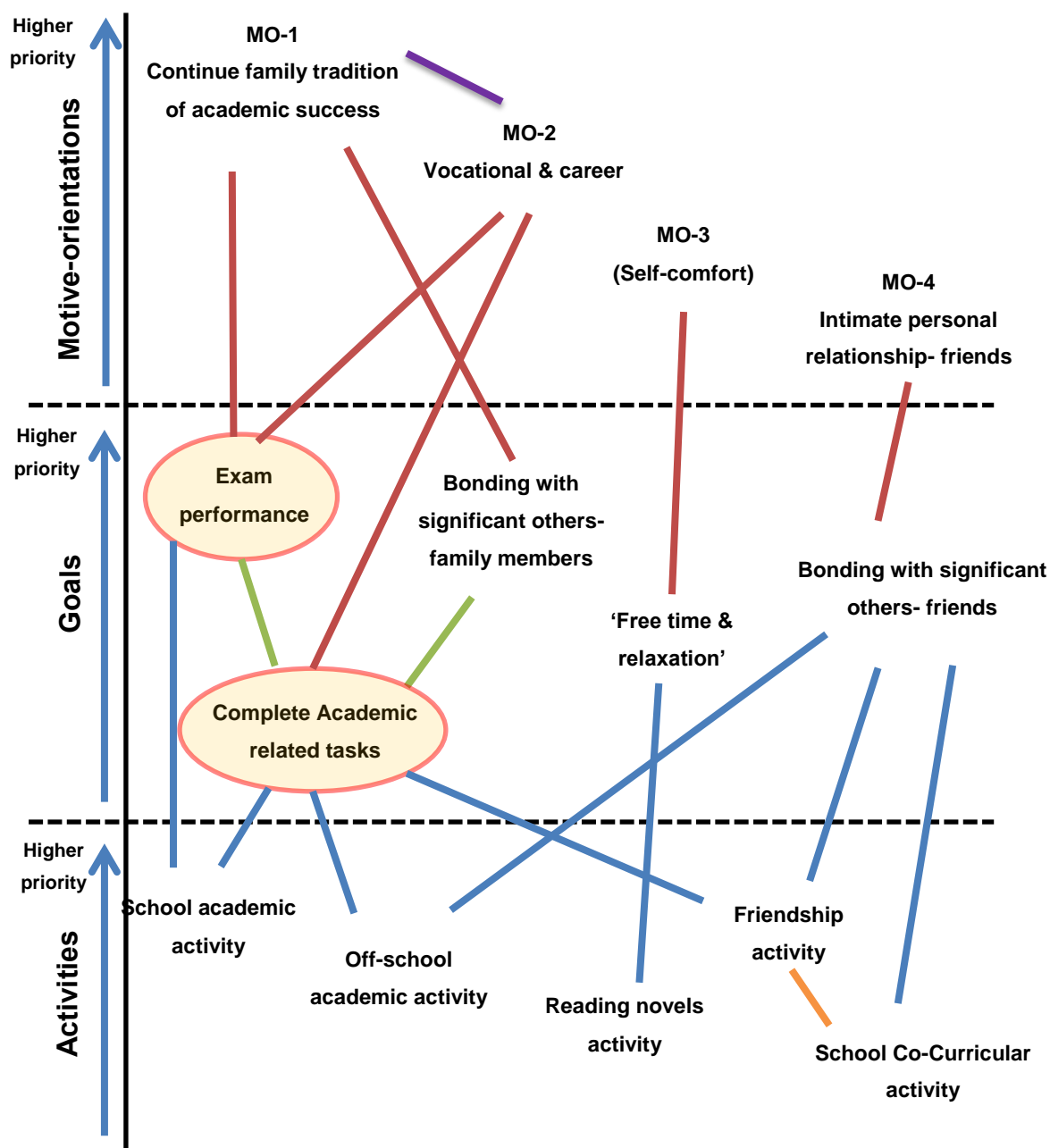


Figure 86: A diagrammatic representation of Ruby's motive hierarchy and her relation to academic study

The MO of continuing the family tradition of academic success stands out as the most meaningful and holding the highest priority for Ruby (Figure 86). This inference of Ruby's MO-1 is based on the evidence of the actions of conflict resolution by Ruby. The first evidence can be seen when Ruby resolves for her academic study activity than for Co-Curricular Activity (CCA). Although school (CCA) is important for her to get to university, she did not hesitate to resolve the

conflict between her academic study task and co-curricular task in favour of the former (see Figure 74, page 209). She explained in the pre-research focus group discussion (pre-FGD) the clash in school timetable between her CCA club and her academic classes. The demand for other than academic study, D(O), for CCA seems to be strong in the school institution, as shown by Ruby's comment, 'if we don't come for the club, {that, that club, we will be kicked out (...) }'. Having a strong D(O) which contradicts the inherently dominant demand for academic study, D(AS), in the school institution causes intense conflict for young people. For Ruby, this is taxing as she said that both academic study and CCA are important for her to get to university (Figure 78, page 212). Moreover, she brought up the matter again as the first question she asked in her *MyQuestionnaire* (Figure 88, page 234 – see MyQ/Ruby/P5/Ruby). From her own response to the question, it seems that she has resolved the conflict in favour of her academic study. Her choice to attend her academic classes rather than going to her CCA clubs illustrates that academic study has relatively higher importance than CCA within her motive hierarchy. The fact that Ruby did not hesitate to drop her CCA activity for her practical class shows that she has the willingness for the academic study activity, and the willingness gives the evidence that the D(AS) is already assumed by her (see the flowchart in Figure 21, page 119). On a separate note, the fact that CCA were easily gave up by Ruby shows that the D(O) CCA has not been an assumed demand for Ruby, but is still at the level of assigned demand for her (Figure 20, page 118).

Further evidence to support the inference of Ruby's MO-1 is from Ruby's willingness to concentrate in her lesson despite talkative classmates. Ruby's concentration in class can be compared to Hani, who tried the same strategy but was distracted by her talkative classmate Figure 94 on page 245. Ruby can therefore be considered to have resolved the conflict between her academic study-activity-related task and friendship activity related task in favour of the former. This action shows not only Ruby's willingness towards the demand of academic study, but her effort to concentrate in the class when she could have entertained her friends, shows that she has assumed the demand of academic study. Hani, on the other hand, succumbed to and ended up entertaining her

talkative seatmate during most of the lesson (see Figure 94 page 245), which is also evidence to support Hani MO-3 (see sub-section 6.3, page 240).

Moreover, Ruby's selection and categorisation of friends shows that she still considers activities linked to social contact important, but not as important as her academic study activity. Ruby describes a group of her friends as the 'gangster gang' (Figure 64, page 197) because of the playful nature of their friendship activity, and another group as 'good friends' because of the academic study-activity-related tasks that dominate their friendship activity. This categorisation of her friends implies that Ruby has singled out academic study activity as important and meaningful for her. The fact that she still enjoys the activity of social contact with her friends, especially the 'gangster gang', is evidence of the presence of the remnants of the dominant activity from the previous developmental age. However, the labelling of 'good friend' for her friends who enjoy academic study-activity-related tasks has implied that Ruby has perceived this group as 'better' than the previous 'gangster gang' group. This anecdote indicates further Ruby's 'natural' way of perceiving and selecting her friends (see Figure 20, page 118), and emphasises further Ruby's dominant motive-orientation, which is academic study.

Meanwhile, the notion of 'last minute' is another interesting phenomenon with respect to analysing the young people's relation to academic study. From my experience, in everyday discourse, the expression 'last minute' is commonly used among students to express their different statuses in terms of the completion of a task, relative to the deadline of the task. Literally it means that the person has left some tasks un-done or unfinished until there is too little time to complete them before the deadline. However, from my data, interestingly the expression of 'last minute' used by the SRs shows differentiation which gives some evidence of the motive-orientation that has subsumed academic study as a goal. With respect to the flowchart (Figure 21, page 119), the notion of 'last minute' can assist in identifying if the young people are willing to do the related task, and/or whether the task-related demand is 'assigned' or 'assumed' by the young people (see sub-section 5.2.1.1, page 143).

The use of the 'last minute' expression can tell us about the young people's time management with respect to their academic study. In Ruby's case for instance, 'last minute' does not mean that her academic tasks were left until the last minute, but indeed, for her, it refers to her final revision of the academic study content before formal academic tests or examinations. Ruby will make sure she understands the academic content in her routine class lessons while the teacher is teaching, as she revealed in one of the focus group discussion (FGD) (Figure 88).

Ruby's expression of 'last minute' refers to her final revision, including recalling important facts before sitting her examinations. Other SRs such as Hani (Section 6.3 on page 240) and Sarah (Section 6.4 on page 250) refer to 'last minute' as studying and learning at the last minute. For Ruby, her 'last minute' strategy shows that she has adopted a strategy to deal with her academic study and ensure that she performs well in her examinations which supports her motive-orientation of performing well in her academic study. This strategy emphasises the dominance of the academic study-related motive-orientation for Ruby.

Sarah: ...What is the study strategy that works the best for you? ... someone in here?

(...)

Ruby: Urm ... for me my strategy {maybe} concentrate, {the fullest concentration in the class so that, like I understand, already...understand} everything in the class so {what is left to do at home is just recalling only, like if there is a test, then you are ready, no need to constantly read books}.

(...)

Ruby: {This} study strategy, does it include last-minute study?

Lisa: yes

Suzy: I think so

Ruby: Umm...yeah, I think it works best for me...last-minute study {because it really gets in because} the next day {like} it's fresh {yeah}, {I still remember}

Sarah: Your memory is fresh

Ruby: {Yes, I can what is it}, retrieve...retrieve the information!

Figure 87: Ruby's notion of 'last minute' (FGD/Post/D/P34-P36).

In the analysis of Ruby's time management, her notion of 'last minute' and her reactions when being compared to her successful relatives shows that there is much less struggle and conflict for Ruby when compared to the other young people in this study. Ruby expressed several times that managing time is just a 'natural' process for her, as can be seen in Figure 88. Ruby's 'natural' way of managing her time could be due to the fact that the process has become so second nature (see Leontiev, 1978) that she need not think about it anymore. Ruby's actions in response to such demands reflect her contentment and willingness in relation to the demand and from the flowchart in Figure 21 on page 119 is an indication of an assumed demand. The fact that Ruby finds herself in harmony with these practices shows that her motive-orientation towards the objective-motive of the family institution must have acquired a sense-making motive status.

MyQ/Ruby/P1/MeQ1 – about having a personal study timetable

'Nope ...if I had one, I don't think I would follow it ... {don't know yeah ... naturally it can be self-controlled, if [we] find time to do something, then it can be done}

MyQ/Ruby/P1/MeQ4 – about sticking to the timetable

'if I had one ... I don't think I'd be able to stick to it. If I had one ... maybe {there would be} the feeling of guilt {perhaps maybe ... but ... (I) don't know ... laziness 'overwhelmed'} oneself

MyQ/Ruby/P2/YusufQ2 – does interest affect learning?

‘Yes, we must {be clever in dividing} our time, {*when to study and when to play badminton*} (my interests)}

MyQ/Ruby/P3/Anna – How do you balance your study and CCA

{Own discretion of course}

MyQ/Ruby/P3/Suzy – How do you divide your time at school and home?

{Own discretion of course}

MyQ/Ruby/P5/Ruby – How do you manage to organise your timetable so that your clubs and your learning time do not clash with one another?

{My own discretion ... if CCA does not clash} with my subjects/practical class, then I’ll go for it

Figure 88: Various extracts from the data showing Ruby’s ability to manage her time naturally without the help of a personal timetable

This inference can be further supported from understanding the established tradition in Ruby’s immediate and extended family with respect to achieving successful academic performance. The tradition of academic success in Ruby’s family is evidence of the establishment of off-school academic study activity in the family and the propagation of the tradition in Ruby’s family. A few of the practices with respect to off-school academic study activity that came out of Ruby’s data have shown that these practices are deeply rooted in her family traditions. This is evidenced by the established setting of off-school academic activity, as elaborated on in sub-section 5.2.1.8 on page 159. Ruby is one of the young people who lives and grew up around cousins who live near to each other. As has been discussed in sub-section 5.1.3 on page 132, the emergence of this style of living can be dated back to a few centuries ago when the young people’s grandparents or great grandparents bought big pieces of land, perhaps in anticipation of having the current generation living next to each other. Having the extended family living in close proximity, with their houses next to each other in the same area, means that the family practice that is ascribed to an individual family could also possibly be ascribed to the larger extended family. In other

words, the practice in this type of family is almost subsumed within the practice of the bigger, extended family (see also sub-section 5.3.3, page 175).

The established tradition of off-school academic study practice in Ruby's family is further strengthened by the tradition of academic success in the extended family (see sub-section 5.2.1.7 on page 154). For Ruby, the fact that her cousins are extremely successful implies that it is not just the tradition of practice for off-school academic study activity that is highlighted here, but also the fact that the practice is marked by successful academic achievements. Living in the tradition of academic success has placed Ruby in a relatively harmonious relation to the demand for academic study, D(AS), which explains the sense-making motive status of her MO-1. An example of the harmony between academic study activity and other activities in the family practice can be seen in Ruby's description of the weekend barbeque that complements her off-school academic study-activity-related tasks (Figure 45, page 174)

The propagation of the tradition of the academic success in Ruby's family is demonstrated in Ruby's expression of envy of her elder sister's excellent performance in examinations. Correspondingly, Ruby also conveyed in different ways her enthusiasm to follow her sister's academic success (Figure 30, page 152), and she herself wants to be 'a good example' and 'a role model' for her younger sisters, as she expressed on one of her *MyAlbum* pages (MyA/Ruby/4/28). This is evidence of the propagation of the practice of academic success in Ruby's family. The fact that Ruby is not only passively following the practice, but that she also expressed her eagerness to follow in the successful footsteps of her sister show that Ruby has assumed the demand for continuing the tradition of academic success in her family.

Other evidence leading to the conclusion that Ruby has assumed the demand for successful academic performance can also be seen in her composed and calm reactions when compared to her successful sister and cousins (Figure 89). In addition, her mother's nagging for her to avoid last minute revision is also taken with no pressure (Figure 26, page 144). This is affirmed from comparing her calm reaction towards her mother's nagging with the Hani (Section 6.3, page 240) and Suzy (Figure 28, page 147) who vent their discontentment about being

compared to other successful people. In other words, her demand is already in harmony with her own desire to be successful like her sister and cousins.

This evidence does not only support further the inference that Ruby has assumed the D(AS) but also that her academic study-related MO is to continue the family tradition of academic success.

Hani: So urm for you your family members {many [of them] were ... sent overseas yeah, so do your parents also say {like} 'eh {you try to see him, he is clever and you are not ... '}

(...)

Ruby: Family {do} compare compare and then ...

Yusuf: Yes

Ruby: Cousin {like} urm ... my sister ah okay {I don't know} for me ... {[the one] who gives...directly} I mean continues {to study} [is] my sister ... {really perhaps, like}, (I'm) jealous {that} she always {gets} grades ... {since her} PMB ... {since her} PSR, PMB, O-level A-LEVEL {then} (she) always {gets} distinctions ... something like being praised something like that yeah!} (sigh!) ... {always being compared to, that's why then like} you have that feeling {like how to compete yeah ... ah something like that, that's why for me, maybe that is what continues to push me}

Hani: So your parents {[did they} say 'you try to see your sister' like that} ... ?

Ruby: {Yes it's like that ... but not too strict though ... like just like normal}

Hani: Owh ...

Ruby: (It's) {fair ... not} too pushy

Hani: So that means your sister {is the one who motivates you}?

Ruby: {Although she like ... doesn't know ... that} we are competing with each other but then} it's like that

Figure 89: Ruby is relaxed about being compared to other academically successful relatives (FGD/Pre/M/P18-P20).

The discussion above has shown that Ruby has a dominant MO towards continuing the family tradition of academic success. This MO-1 subordinates academic study activity for Ruby. As mentioned earlier, the relation of young people to academic study is the dominance of the motive-orientation to which academic study activity is subordinated. Further evidence to show that academic study activity is important to Ruby can be seen from her time management and her notion of 'last minute' in relation to her academic study activity, as well as the actions she takes to resolve conflict between academic study activity and co-curricular activity at her school.

These few examples of the actions taken by Ruby to resolve the various conflicts have not only shown Ruby's relatively strong academic study activity-related motive-orientation, but also her willingness to resolve the conflicts. From the flowchart (Figure 21, page 118), actions taken willingly to resolve conflicts, like the example of Ruby here, show the demand with respect to academic study activity-related orientation is assumed by Ruby.

Ruby's dominant MO-1 is also reflected in her MO-2, i.e. vocational and career motive-orientation. The strong tradition of academic success in Ruby's family implies that the family has high expectations for her future career. This again is reflected in Ruby's consistent expression of her interest to be a medical doctor in two of the *MyQuestionnaire* questions (MyQ/Ruby/P5/HaniQ5; MyQ/Ruby/P6/HarrisQ5). The fact that this MO-2 is supporting Ruby's MO-1 which is to continue family tradition of academic success also suggests that the MO-2 is subordinated under MO-1, as in my experience, a well-paid job is one of the markers of an academically successful person in Brunei. As a side note, this pattern of one MO being subsumed under another MO is reflected in the Model of Motive Hierarchy (Figure 85, page 226)

On the other hand, for Ruby, MO-3 (the self-comfort related motive-orientation) and MO-4 (intimate personal relationships – friends) are of relatively less priority when compared to her first two MOs. With respect to Ruby's self-comfort related motive-orientation, this is evidenced in her expression of her passion for reading novels, as can be seen in Figure 80 on page 215. Certainly her novel reading comes into conflict with her academic study activities due to the contradiction inherent in the two MOs, MO-1 and MO-3, which these activities are oriented towards. The conflict experienced by Ruby can be seen in Figure 90. Nonetheless, although it appears that in resolving the conflict, Ruby has prioritised MO-3 (the self-comfort related motive-orientation) tasks, I believe that the resolution/action is performed with calculated risk. My inference is supported by Ruby's confession on one occasion that her hobby of reading novels does not affect her study (Figure 91, page 239).

-
- Lisa: (...) So is there anybody who inspires you to quit?
- Ruby: Urm I think ... {I don't know yeah} it depends on myself {too yeah, if [I] want to quit, quit so ...
- Lisa: So [it's] yourself yeah (...)
- Ruby: {If (I) want to do the homework or leave the homework, but like for me urm maybe it's a novel perhaps ... (...) the novel urm, it's a pity that it is not read, right?} So I prefer reading that novel to doing my studies yeah.
- Lisa: But ... don't you think that reading {novels} are ... you know {like} ...
- Harris: Better
- Lisa: Yeah, {like} it's a good hobby? Don't you think it helps you in your studying {also}?
- Ruby: No ... so novels ... I read Malay novels {right}? {Then like, how yeah, it's just like that} (...)
-

Figure 90: Ruby admitted that she prefers reading novels rather than doing her homework (FGD/Post/D/P22).

Do you do any activity aside from school activity? MyQ/Ruby/P7/JohanQ4	No
Yes: what kind of activity/no: what do you do? MyQ/Ruby/P7/JohanQ	{read novels of course}
How does that relate to you academically? MyQ/Ruby/P7/JohanQ6	Not much. {it does not 'affect' my learning}
Does it help you in your academic performance? MyQ/Ruby/P7/JohanQ7	I don't think so ...
How do you cope with your study when you have such an activity? MyQ/Ruby/P7/JohanQ8	Don't know ...

Figure 91: Ruby's hobby of reading novels does not affect her academic study.

On the other hand, the MO-4 for intimate personal relationships with respect to friends has also emerged to be important for Ruby, although it is not as important as the first three MOs. This MO, which has been argued to be the remains of the dominant motive from early adolescence (see sub-section 4.4.5.4 on page 114) is still of relative importance for Ruby. One strong piece of evidence to support this inference is her selection and categorisation of her friends in relation to her academic study. As has been described in sub-section 5.4.3.1, page 196, Ruby presented two groups of friends whom she described as 'the gangster gang' (Figure 64, page 197) and 'the "good" friend' (Figure 65, page 199) respectively, in terms of the inclination of the groups of friends to support her academic study. Her basis of categorising and labelling her friends with respect to academic study portrays her strong relation to academic study.

The fact that Ruby positively describes her 'good friends', as sharing the same goal and supporting her to perform well in academic study, emphasises further Ruby's strong relation to academic study. Nonetheless, she also still enjoys the fun and playful company of her 'gangster gang' friends, albeit with a bit of uneasiness as the friendship activity diverts her attention from her academic study. Her subtle grumbling about her after-school academic study time that was compromised to accommodate the friendship activity with 'the gangster gang' reflects the relative dominance of the academic study-related MO,

The discussion so far has supported the idea of Ruby's strong relation to academic study based on the status of the MOs in which academic study is a subordinated goal. In Ruby's case, the relation to academic study is made more dominant by the fact that the first three MOs that occupy the highest priority within her motive hierarchy are related. Correspondingly, the importance of Ruby's MO-3 and MO-4 has also been substantiated through evidence from the empirical analysis. However, there is relatively weak evidence to differentiate the hierarchical importance between MO-2 and MO-3; as well as between MO-4 and MO5, within the scope of this research.

In conclusion, Ruby's relation to academic study is dominant because of the fact that her academic study-related goal is sub-ordinated under MO-1, i.e the MO with the relatively highest priority. In fact, the relation is made stronger by having the MO-2 only subordinating MO-1, and both the MOs share common sub-ordinated goals such as exam performance, bonding with significant others – family members, completing academic study-related tasks; as well as common activities such as school academic activity, off-school academic activity and friendship activity (Figure 86, page 229).

6.3 Hani's relation to academic study

Hani's case is an example where the analysis and interpretation to infer her motive hierarchy has been inconclusive. Among the SRs, Hani has provided the most elaborate and substantial information about the conflicts and conflict resolution between three main activities that are of concern to her with respect to her academic study activity: self-comfort, intimate personal relationships and

societal demand. Since this study is designed to focus on academic study activity, Hani shared her experience with the conflicts that arose between her academic study activity and other activities. Unfortunately, the data did not cover enough instances of conflict and conflict resolution between these activities. Because of this, the inference of Hani's motive hierarchy is limited to the relative importance of these activities and the respective MOs to the importance of her academic study related MO(s). The relative importance of the different MOs to each other cannot be concluded. Although the design of this research is robust enough to draw on delicate data from the young people's everyday lives, its framing is not broad enough to cover the conflict and conflict resolution among young people's other activities beyond academic study. A broader scope would not have been realistic within the timeframe of this PhD.

From the analysis of Hani's data and from the limitation of the data about her, as described above, it is not possible to determine the relative order of importance of four of her MOs, namely the self-comfort related motive-orientation, intimate personal relationships with respect to family, intimate personal relationships with respect to friends, and societal demand-related motive-orientation. Since the relational importance of these different motive-orientations is inconclusive, they were not assigned 'numbers' like the motive hierarchy of the other SRs. In the diagrammatic representation of Hani's motive hierarchy, these four MOs are drawn in a box, which indicates their inclusiveness (Figure 92). Hani also seems to have the vocational and career MO as the least dominant MO, but unfortunately this assertion cannot be concluded either, for the same reason as the four MOs above. A vocational and career MO is futuristic in nature (Elkonin, 1972) and its dominance in a person's motive hierarchy is characteristic of late adolescence. If the relative dominance of such an MO can be proved for Hani, it would provide a clearer path for understanding and inferring Hani's motive hierarchy.

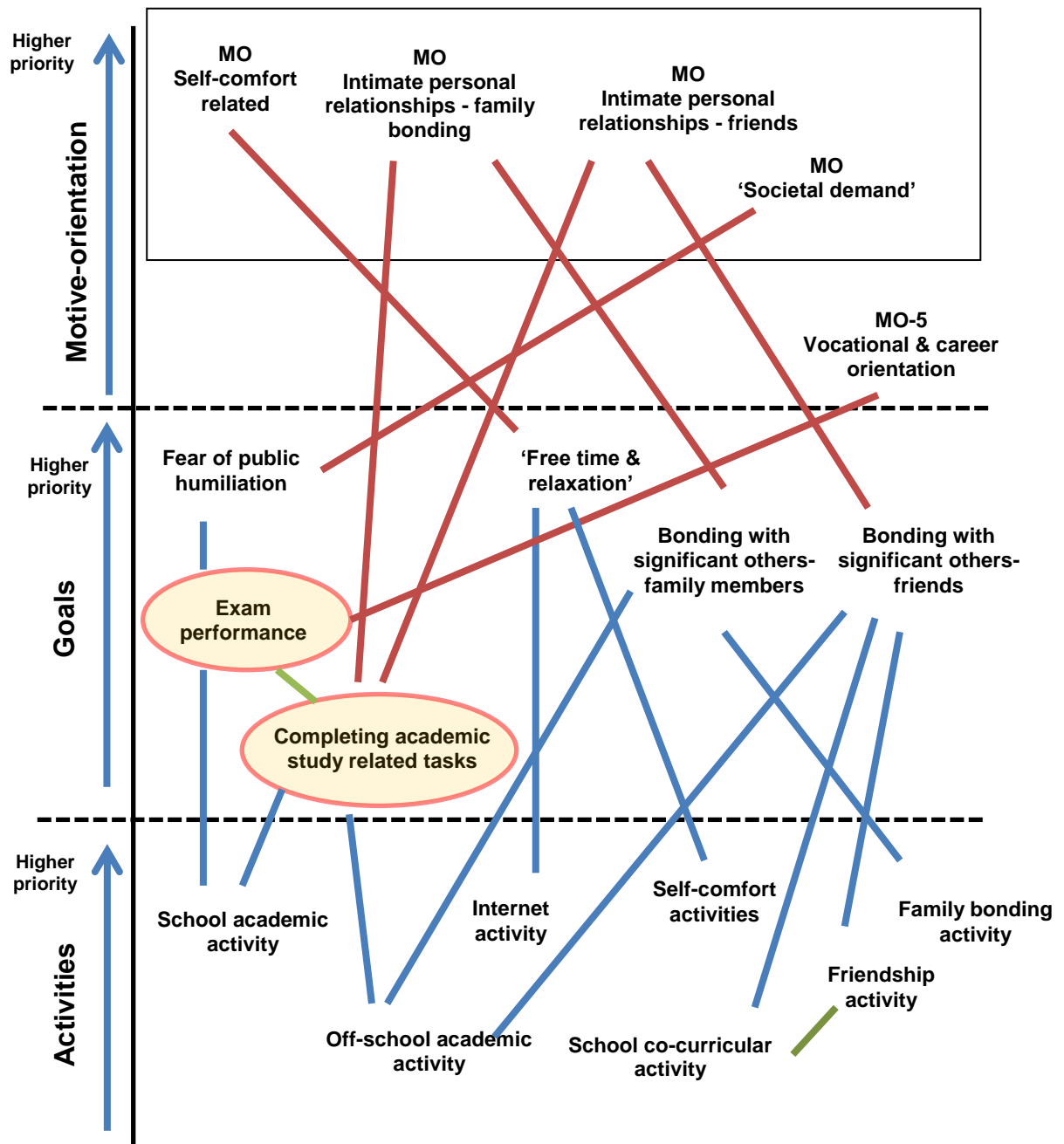


Figure 92: A diagrammatic representation of Hani's motive hierarchy and her relation to academic study

This section describes the relative importance of the four MOs to the academic study-related activity MO respectively. Starting with the conflict between self-comfort related activities and academic study activity, Hani generally resolves the conflict in favour of the former. This can be seen in Figure 93 on page 244 which summarises some of Hani's responses to the related *MyQuestionnaire* questions. Hani's responses show the relative importance of self-comfort activity related

activities and tasks compared to other activities, particularly within the family institutional practice. From the figure, Hani's responses show that self-comfort related activities and tasks such as surfing the internet, sleeping and leisure time are more important than academic study activity for her. The importance of self-comfort related activities to Hani can be observed from the two questions that she posed in *MyQuestionnaire*, as can be seen in the first two questions in Figure 93.

No:	Questions from <i>MyQuestionnaire</i>	Hani's response
1.	*You have an overdue homework or an exam the next day, but you are so sleepy, which one do you choose? (MyQ/Hani/P4/HaniQ2)	"SLEEP!".
2.	*How much time a night do you spend on the internet in comparison to your study? (MyQ/Hani/P5/HaniQ1)	A lot of time on the internet, none for study.
3.	(...) What were the things in your 'everyday life' that were the easiest to sacrifice? (MyQ/Hani/P1/MeQ3)	Rest time? The rest time in between study, not sleeping time;
4.	(...) What were the things in your 'everyday life' that were the hardest to sacrifice? (MyQ/Hani/P1/MeQ3)	Sleeping time, if I had to choose between sleeping and studying, I'd choose sleeping.
5.	How do you prioritise your 'everyday life' and your study? (MyQ/Hani/P2/MeQ5)	Comfort > study.
6.	How long do you take a nap/rest/sleep? (MyQ/Hani/P2/YusufQ1)	Usually as long as I need it.
7.	How do you manage your time between studies, CCA or leisure? (MyQ/Hani/P3/SarahQ3)	Of course Study > CCA; Leisure > study; Leisure > CCA.
8.	How long do you take a sleep? (MyQ/Hani/P4/FarahQ3)	If I'm sleepy, I go to sleep, even though I have tons of hw (homework).
9.	What's your routine when you are in the house? (MyQ/Hani/P5/RubyQ3)	Internet, food, day dreaming, internet, sleep ... study (much smaller font was used for 'study')
10.	What's your favourite hobby? (MyQ/Hani/P5/HarrisQ1)	Sleep, internet.

11.	Dealing with {lazy feeling} (MyQ/Hani/P6/HarrisQ7)	I can't help myself, it dominates my feeling to study.
12.	In your opinion, aren't interests or hobbies more important? (MyQ/Hani/P5/JimmyQ3)	No, but self-comfort is.

Note: *These questions were asked by Hani herself in *MyQuestionnaire*

Figure 93: Hani's responses in the *MyQuestionnaire* that show her emphasis on the importance of her 'free time and relaxation' goal which has a self-comfort related motive-orientation.

Meanwhile, the dominance of the intimate personal relationships MO for Hani indicates that her developmental age still corresponds to that of the early adolescence stage (Elkonin, 1972) (see Section 4.2 on page 59). This orientation sets her apart from the other Student Researchers (SRs) who appear to have more developed motive hierarchies corresponding to the late adolescence stage with a dominant vocational and career MO. The relative importance of this MO in relation to family and friends for Hani is apparent as she always attributes her struggles to focus on her academic study-activity-related tasks, to other people around her.

In her school practice, Hani revealed the intense emotional impact that she experienced when her teachers, classmates and seatmates were not supportive of her in relation to her academic study. For instance, she blamed Hani-TeacherA's inability to reach her for the deterioration of her interest and performance in Hani-SubjectA (Figure 53, page 185). She was also outraged by her talkative classmates and seatmates and alleged that they were the reason why she could not focus in class during lesson time (see Figure 60, page 192 and Figure 61, page 193). The counter-demand (CD) that she exerted on these people illustrates the importance of academic study activity to her, as well as her dependency on people in the school institutional practice for her ability to focus on her study. From the latter, the importance of intimate personal relationships with respect to people in the school institutional practice is highlighted for Hani.

Another example to illustrate the importance of the intimate personal relationship MO to Hani is from the action she takes to resolve the conflict caused by her

talkative seatmate when she wanted to focus in a class lesson. Her annoyance towards her seatmate was apparently evidenced in the form of a question she shared in the *MyQuestionnaire* (Figure 94). However, among the SRs who responded to the question, Hani was the only one who resolved to entertain the seatmate so as not to offend the seatmate. As such, it is concluded that her intimate personal relationships related MO is of a greater priority to her than her academic study-related MO. In addition, among the SRs who were analysed in detailed in this study, she is the only one who shows that she still has a dominant intimate personal relationships MO, a characteristic that marks the early adolescence developmental age.

The SRs Their response to Hani's question: 'In school when the teacher is teaching, at the same time, your friend is talking to you ... what do you do?'

Sarah: 'Stop her from talking by saying, "shh..."'

Suzy: 'Say "uhhuh" then ignore them, but if the topic (lesson) is boring, then (you) might as well talk a little bit'

Farah: 'I asked he/she to keep quiet and asked he/she back after the teaching'

Anna: 'If related to that subject, I will listen. If not, I just ignore it'

Ruby: 'Teacher {of course}! Teacher {will only speak once, she won't repeat just for} myself! {just leave the friend first, she won't sulk (just yet)...}'

Hani: 'Being the person I am, I want to listen to the teacher but I can't be too mean to my friend and say "no" ... and (I) end up listening to my friend rather than the teacher'

Figure 94: Responses to Hani's question in *MyQuestionnaire*, 'In school when the teacher is teaching, at the same time, your friend is talking to you ... what do you do?' (*MyQuestionnaire*/(general)/P5/HaniQ4)

With respect to intimate personal relationships (friendship) MO, Hani's activity seems to split into two: academic study activity and friendship activity. Sometimes these two activities are in harmony, for example if the friendship activity incorporates academic study tasks, while at other times they are in conflict. When the two activities are in harmony, Hani appears to be contented. An example of this can be seen when Hani described an anecdote about studying with Ruby and Anna (Sarah and Farah) during one of her PS (personal study) blocks (Figure 95). In fact, according to her, this is one way that she uses her PS period productively. She feels satisfaction when she stands out among her friends by solving an academic study task for them.

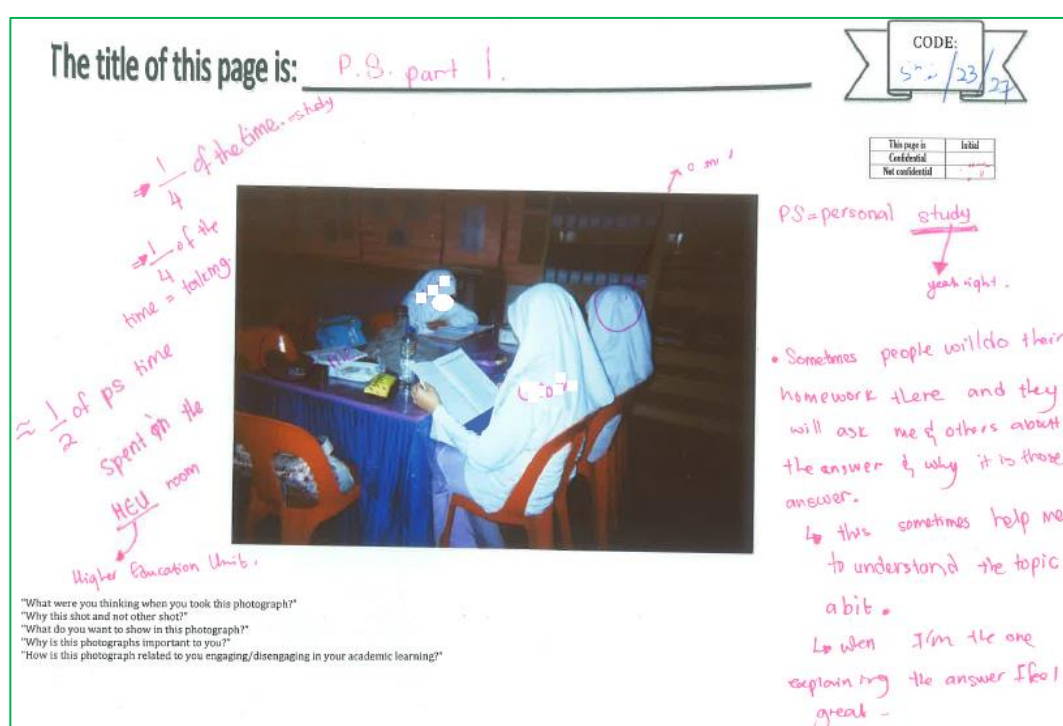


Figure 95: Hani's *MyAlbum* regarding the Personal Study Time (PS).

On the other hand, if the academic study task conflicts with her friendship task, Hani seems to stick to her friendship activity rather than solving the conflict in favour of her academic study activity, although she is a little displeased by this. This can be seen from another example of the activity in one of her PS periods (Figure 96, page 247) It shows that she spent the period in the café eating and chatting. On that *MyAlbum* page, she implied that the friendship activity in the café was one of the activities that she did with her friends which reduced her time for study during that supposedly personal study time block. The two examples of

activities within Hani's friendship circle further support the fact that although Hani has quite a dominant relation to academic study, that relation is overshadowed by the importance of her intimate personal relationship related friendship activity.

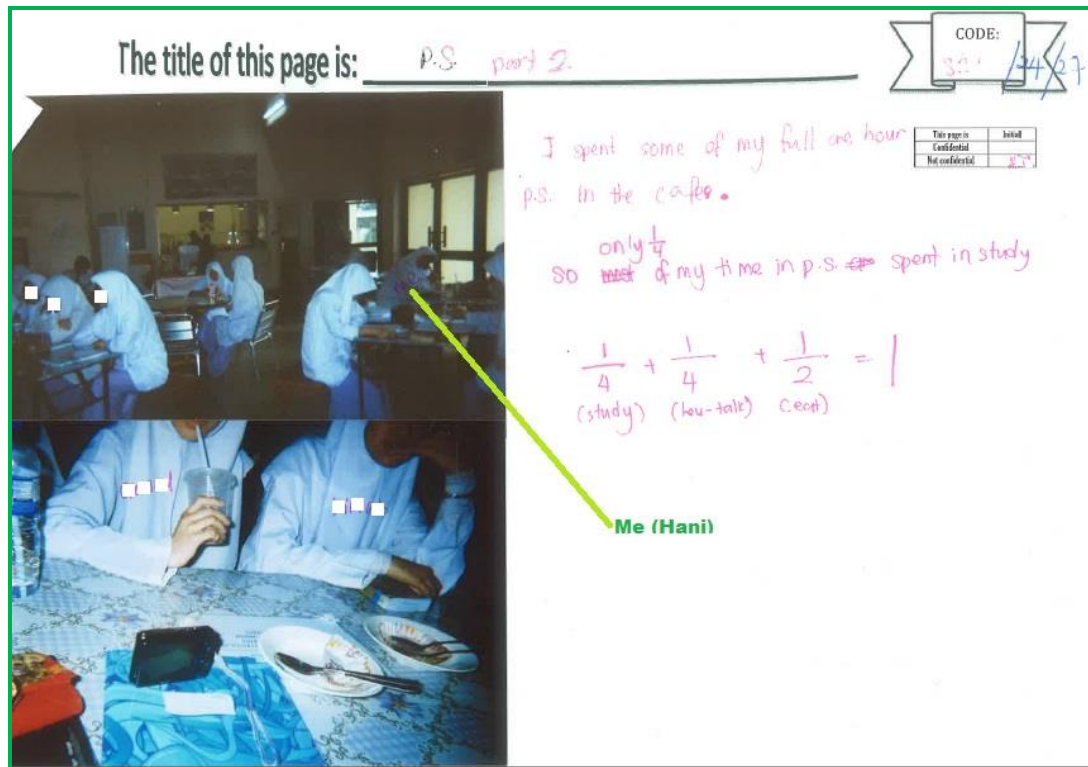


Figure 96: Another page from Hani's *MyAlbum*

Likewise, with respect to her family practice, Hani seems to put the blame for being able or unable to focus on her off-school academic study activity on two of her brothers. Examples of the impact that her brothers have on her academic study activity were presented in sub-section 5.3.4 on page 178. In both examples, it seems that Hani's capacity to focus on her off-school academic study activity is defined by the support that she demands from her brothers. This 'dependency' on her siblings has shown the importance of the intimate personal relationship orientation for Hani, in this case with respect to family bonding activity. In fact, Hani would sacrifice her pre-planned off-school academic study tasks to participate in a family bonding activity should these two activities conflict (see sub-section 5.3.1 on page 169, and 5.3.2, on page 171).

Moreover, Hani's intimate personal relationship MO (family bonding), seems to subsume her academic study activity, with respect to off-school academic study

activity. This is evidenced in Hani's efforts to avoid confrontation with her parents. One of the FGD conversations (Figure 97) demonstrated Hani's effort to be obedient to her parents by putting on a 'show' of doing her homework or revision as instructed/demanded.

Anna: So how do you guys overcome that laziness?

(...)

Anna: But if you have this kind of situation (bad mood/bad day) what do you (do)? Like ... if you feel lazy at that time ...

(...)

Hani: Yeah, like my mum pushes me to do my homework every night, revision or whatever it is, I'll just sit at the table and just read the book

Figure 97: Hani overcoming her feeling of 'not being in the mood' to do her off-school academic study activity whilst avoiding offending her mother.

Whilst Hani's academic study goal with respect to routine tasks like finishing homework is subordinated under her intimate personal relationship (family bonding) MO, her examination performance goal is not. Hani's goal of achieving success in her examinations is subsumed under another goal: avoiding public humiliation. Indeed, Hani's feeling of satisfaction when she managed to help her friend by explaining some of their homework problems is also evidence to support Hani's goal of avoiding public humiliation. The fact that Hani goes to school because of the societal norms shows that she has not yet assumed the demand for academic study (Figure 20, page 118). Figure 98 on page 250 compiles Hani's *MyQuestionnaire* responses which show that her relation to academic study has very little future vocational and career orientation, but rather more evidence of the orientation towards her relationship with other people, especially her parents. Furthermore, her goal to be successful academically is driven by her fear of failure and fear of being considered an outcast according to societal norms. Hani said that she goes to school because everybody does, and because

young people like her have no choice but to attend school. This action shows that her goal is orientated towards a societal demand-related MO.

The fact that academic study activity is not subordinated under her vocational and career MO like the other SRs, including her best friends, could mean that academic study activity for Hani is not future oriented. The fact that the vocational and career MO is the least frequently mentioned by her may show that it is relatively the least important MO for her; however, there is not enough evidence to prove this. Nonetheless, perhaps one impact of this less important vocational and career orientation for Hani can be seen in the intense emotional conflict expressed all over the data provided by her. Young people at her age are expected to have a vocational and career orientation. However, as her developmental age is still at the early adolescence stage, which is reflected in her dominant intimate personal relationships motive-orientation, the future oriented demands have created conflict for her, which is evidenced in the intense emotional tension expressed in her data.

The <i>MyQuestionnaire</i> questions	Hani's responses
As a student, what does going to school/college mean to you? (MyQ/Hani/P3/SarahQ5)	It's my life! If I were to drop out of school, I would really be humiliated; this feeling is what keeps me still going for this.
Why do you go to school? (MyQ/Hani/P3/AnnaQ4)	Because everyone goes to one? Because I want \$ in the future.
What encourages you to study? (MyQ/Hani/P3/AnnaQ5)	Successful parents. Not successful relatives.
What makes you study? (MyQ/Hani/P3/SarahQ1)	The idea of failing.
What are the factors which make	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents

you go to school? (MyQ/Hani/P4/FarahQ2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends • A crush ... ♥
How do you feel when you go to school? (MyQ/Hani/P4/FarahQ3)	Neutral? I don't feel so happy, also not so against it
In your opinion, what is academic study to young people like us? (MyQ/Hani/P7/JimmyQ5)	It's maybe their only choice because education is compulsory
Do your parents affect your study? (MyQ/Hani/P7/JohanQ9)	Yes, they are my driving force.

Figure 98: Academic study for Hani is subordinate to her relationship with her parents and societal demand.

In short, academic study activity for Hani is oriented towards two different MOs: intimate personal relationships (family) MO and the societal demand related MO. Both of these MOs are important for Hani, which means that academic study activity is important for Hani too. On the other hand, intimate personal relationships (friendship) are also important for Hani, but academic study activity is only subordinated under this MO if the academic study activity is part of the friendship activity. Otherwise, friendship activity of a social nature will prevail. Moreover, the self-comfort related MO is also important for Hani, and this MO contradicts with her academic study-activity-related MO. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to infer the relative importance of the first four different MOs for Hani, and with this insufficiency, the relative importance of academic study activity for Hani cannot be concluded in the construction of her motive hierarchy.

6.4 Sarah's relation to academic study

From the analysis of Sarah's data, her dominant motive-orientation (MO) is of vocational and career orientation, MO-1. The subsequent MOs in terms of relative priority are self-comfort related motive-orientation (MO-2), intimate personal relationships with respect to family bonding (MO-3); family maintenance orientation (MO-4) and intimate personal relationships with respect to friends

(MO-5). The relative importance of Sarah's MOs, which represent her motive hierarchy, is represented in Figure 99 on page 251.

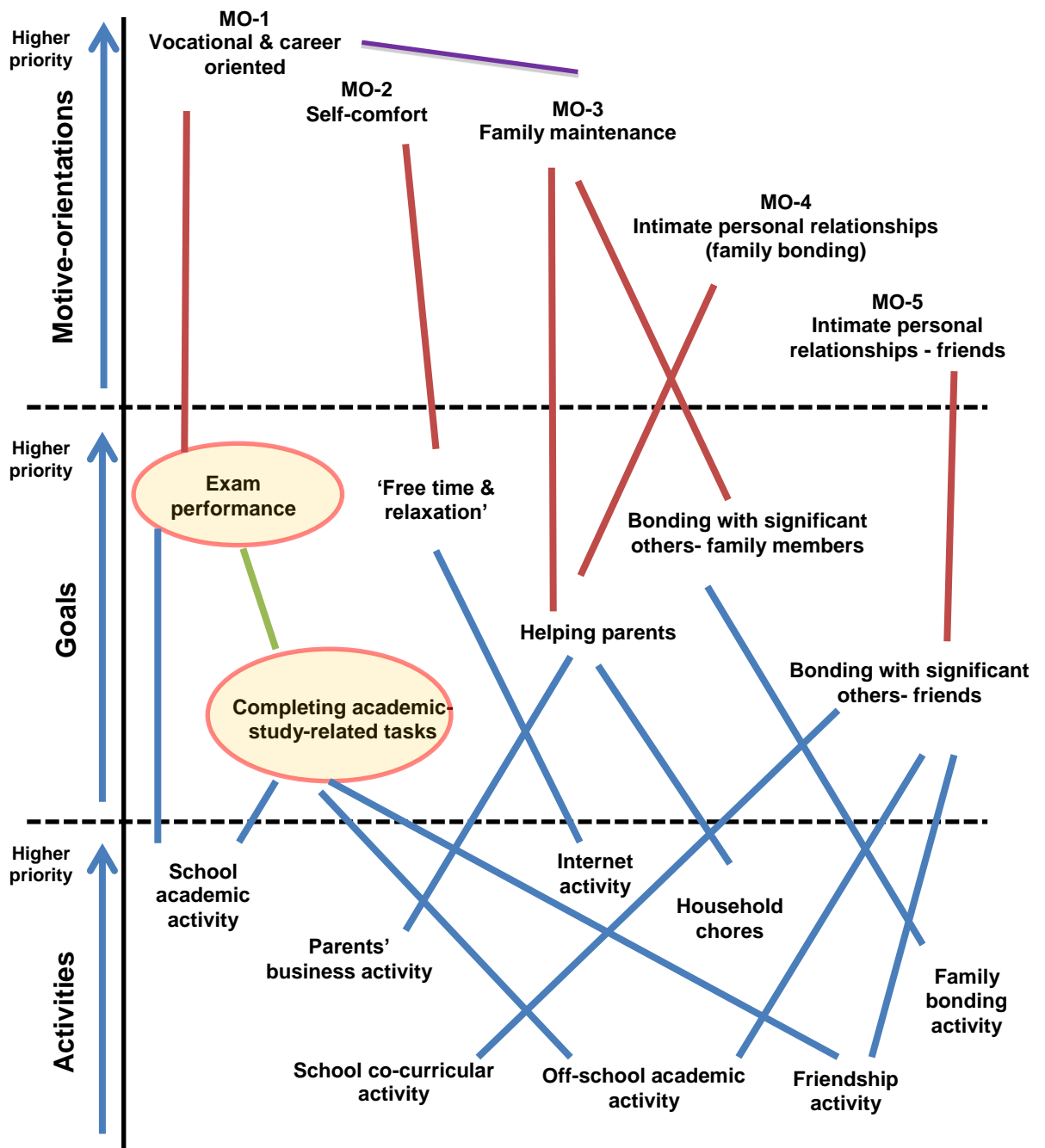


Figure 99: A diagrammatic representation of the Sarah's motive hierarchy and her relation to academic study

Among the different SRs analysed, Sarah is exceptionally vocational and career oriented (MO-1), which was inferred from her repeated emphasis in her *MyAlbum*, as summarised in Figure 100 on page 253 and in one of the FGD

discussion as can be seen in Figure 101 on page 254. Sarah's expression in relation to her vocational and career orientation (MO-1) is always with respect to her needs to move on from her current everyday life as well as what she wants to achieve in the future. There is repeated emphasis on her wanting to leave her current student life and to work hard to get a successful luxurious life with good monthly earnings so that she can have those things that she aspires to (Figure 100). Sarah's persistence emphases imply that she has a relatively dominant future-focussed vocational and career MO which subordinates her academic study goal. Therefore, it could be inferred that she has a strong relation to academic study. This inference is supported by the evidence which will be presented in this sub-section.

Page 1:

♥I have a dream of becoming a doctor or a surgeon (...)

Page 4 (Picture of Sarah in her college uniform):

Honestly, I dislike myself in a college uniform. I look ugly in it. Well, this uniform inspires me to study hard so that I can go to further education where there's no uniform 😊

Page 8:

(Picture of a small bag)

(...) I want to study, get a job to buy those tools for crafting too! 😊

I am always jealous to see all those crafting, knitting tools, baking equipment my aunties have. I want that too!

Page 9:

(Picture of university prospectuses)

"I want to study overseas! The university seems so awesome, it'll be cool to study there!" That's what I always think of when I look at prospectuses. It boosts my motivation 😊 to study hard! (...)

Page 11(Picture of a hanging P.E. uniform):

I love my P.E. attire, but surely I wouldn't want to wear it again next year. So, study hard!! Then, no more P.E. attire. (...)

Page 14(Picture of scenery taken from a front passenger seat of a car):

"I wish I was on my way to work".

"I wish I could stay up a little bit more late".

These are my thoughts.

Yea being a student is hard for me.

But it's okay. I'll study hard and then work with a nice job.

Page 15(Picture of a car park):

I love my college but I'm getting bored of it now. Thus, (I) aim for a higher grade so that I can get out of that college ☺

Page 18 (Picture of a sport utility truck):

I want one too one day. So study hard, aim for the stars. I know I can do it!

Page 20 (Picture of a large living room):

I want a job so that I could have my dream house. Now, I have to work hard for it!

Page 23(Picture of Hani and Sarah):

Yes, we will study hard so that we have a bright future.

"smile" we are the future doctors. Haha ... I wish ☺

Figure 100: Sarah's persistent multiple expressions of her future-focussed vocational and career orientation in her *MyAlbum*.

Farah: Okay, do you want to explain about what you feel when...who or what gave you the logic to quit?

(...)

Sarah: Urm ... I think uuuh sometimes kinda like some of our friends {like} they're working instead of studying, I think {like, sometimes} like "yeah, why did I study". Like when did I {like, never mind} stop studying, like spending money on my studying and then just go work and get the money! And then {however, like sometimes} like ... the idea of quitting, but it's just like ... what is it?

Jimmy: It's just it, that is it, it's just an idea, not the wants (desire)

Sarah: Yeah

(...)

Sarah: [raised hand]

Jimmy: Do you have anything to add?

(...)

Sarah: Okay, okay, okay (...), I want to elaborate more on what inspired me. {Sometimes} what inspires us...our ambition {right}? And then what we want, {sometimes} what we want {now}, we cannot get...now as a student is affordable...unaffordable {like, you don't want to have a car like ordinary car}, like you know, that kind of leisure {right} (gestured 'inverted comma') (ops) luxuries, you cannot get, so...(nodding head)

Farah: That inspires you?

Sarah: Hmm...(nodding head)

Figure 101: Sarah's vocational and career orientation pictured in her aspiration to have a luxurious life.

The assertion that Sarah's MO-1 is very meaningful for her (see Figure 21, page 119) can be supported by analysing her counter-demands. She placed counter-demands on her family members to support her by leaving her alone when she needed to do her off-school academic study activity, but felt that this was not

happening (Figure 102, page 255). Her expression of discontentment about her family not understanding her needs shows that the task with respect to family bonding is no more important than her academic study. Sarah resolved the conflict by opting to study at night when the rest of her family was asleep. Sarah's action to distance her academic study activity space from her distracting siblings shows that the MO-1 which it supports is important for her. Indeed, she explicitly said that although family bonding activity is important for her, she will still stick to her academic study activity (Figure 103, page 256). Indeed the academic study activity is more important than her self-comfort related tasks, as she sacrificed her sleep for her after-school academic study activity. The dominance of the academic study activity is a reflection of the dominance of Sarah's future-focussed vocational and career orientation that subsumes it.

Suzy: Urm what are the other matters that always get in the way of your studies? (...)

Sarah: I think sometimes our siblings {too}, our siblings, our parents like when we study, while we're studying {right} sometimes they bother us like by knocking the door or like ... bothering us {yeah}, and then sometimes when we are motivated to study and they were bothering us, {like} we feel like, {oooh (I) don't want to study anymore, like they disturb disturb}, I think that's ...

Suzy: I think that's it

Sarah: I think that's it

(...)

Sarah: And then when the time like, everyone is sleeping {right} so like no one will be bothering you, your brother won't be bothering you because, bother you because he is sleeping {right}, and everyone will be sleeping and it will be the most quiet time, peaceful ... {that's it}.

Jimmy: So you like to study in peaceful area?

Sarah: Yes, in peaceful area.

Figure 102: Family activity distracting off-school academic study activity - Sarah (FGD/Pre/D/P5-P9).

Q: Do you spend time more with your family or studying?

A: I tried to balance it {but I} study mostly even if I want to spend the time with family more.

Figure 103: Sarah resolving conflict between family bonding and academic study in favour of the latter (MyQ/Sarah/P3/SuzyQ3).

Interestingly, although Sarah shows a relatively dominant vocational and career orientation (MO-1), the tasks that are related to her self-comfort related motive-orientation (MO-2) are a relatively close contender to the academic study-related tasks. From Sarah's data, her resolution of the conflict between self-comfort related activities and academic study activity was inconsistent (Figure 104, page 257). Whilst she mentioned the importance of self-comfort related activities for her, there were also many occasions where she noted that she would get carried away doing her self-comfort related tasks, such as surfing the internet. On the other hand, she also admitted that she treated the self-comfort related tasks as a means of boosting her engagement with her academic study activity (Figure 105, page 257).

The questions:	Sarah's responses
How important are studying and other activities to you? MyQ/Sarah/P3/SarahQ4	Well, studying is as important as other activities such as spending time for myself.
How do you prioritise your 'everyday life' and your study? MyQ/Sarah/P2/MeQ5	I balance it {but} I think I am more interested in my hobbies now rather than studying. E.g. watching Korean drama.
What's your routine when you are in the house? MyQ/Sarah/P5/RubyQ3	Sleep, eat, talk with mum, do h/w, notes, revise, watch k-drama, surf the internet ... etc.

How much time a night do you spend on the internet in comparison to your study? MyQ/Sarah/P4/HaniQ1	Sometimes, I'll spend all night without realising it. So better not go surfing the internet.
When you plan to do your study, do you study according to your plan? Do you procrastinate? What makes you distracted? MyQ/Sarah/P4/HaniQ3	<p>–</p> <p>ot really ...</p> <p>–</p> <p>ometimes ... not { not much perhaps }</p> <p>–</p> <p>orean drama, internet surfing</p>

Figure 104: The relative importance of self-comfort related tasks for Sarah

Questions from <i>MyQuestionnaire</i>	Sarah's responses
Does your interest/hobby affect your learning? MyQ/Sarah/P2/YusufQ2	Yes, e.g. {if after I watched the Korean drama, then} my feeling of revision {that} boosted.
How do you balance your study and CCA? MyQ/Sarah/P3/AnnaQ2	I {did} do my work, study and CCA ... {if I feel I} do too much leisure, I'll stop and study. {If there is } CCA not really into it.
Dealing with {feeling of laziness} MyQ/Sarah/P6HarrisQ7	{watch Korean drama first}, feel guilty then {the feeling of laziness will disappear}

Figure 105: The importance of self-comfort related tasks in supporting Sarah's academic study activity

Sarah's MO-3 is family maintenance motive-orientation. Compared to the other SRs, Sarah's definition of family maintenance activity seems to cover a broader aspect. Although it is quite uncommon in Brunei for a student/young person to do part-time work, let alone to help parents earning income for the family, this is what Sarah does. It seems that she does not come from a well-off family, and this is inferred from her appreciation of the laptop that her uncle gave her (see Figure 32 page 154), and the fact that she pledged to work and be successful to make her uncle proud. Another proof is that despite her MO-1 as academic study related, she did not go for extra paid tuition like her other friends did. She even expressed envy of friends who managed to succeed in their academic study without the need to go for extra tuition. She also tries to buy in to the idea that tuition is not a pre-requisite for academic success. In my opinion, this was just a mechanism to comfort herself and accept something that she and her family cannot afford to offer her.

Sarah shows willingness to accept her responsibilities for helping her parents with household chores and helping with her family business on a part-time basis, as expressed in her *MyAlbum* shown in Figure 106. The family business task as part of her family maintenance activity must have a sense-making motive-orientation for Sarah (MO-3) (see sub-section 5.3.1 page 169). It is clear that Sarah is tired because of the work that she does to the extent that she feels like quitting, yet she accepts the fact that the task makes her more hardworking and realises that she needs to study hard for a better and easier future. Indeed, according to Sarah, working while studying boosts her motivation in her academic study activity, not only by keeping her busy, but by boosting her determination for a better career in the future. This willingness shows that the family maintenance demand has been assumed by her too (see Figure 21, page 119).

Page 1:

♥ I'm a half-time worker, helping my mom with her small food business.

Page 22:

(Picture of an eating outlet, where Sarah works, taken from the front passenger seat of a car)

'Honestly, it's quite tiring to work and study at the same time. Sometime you feel like you want to just quit. But this makes me stronger and become a better person. I become stronger because I am more determined to study very hard or do homework even though you feel like you are so tired and you just want to sleep. I become a better person because I am becoming a person who is not lazy as before, a person who doesn't waste time much and a person who could stay up late and wake-up early in the morning. I am more fresh looking etc.

→ my work place;

Haven't been there for quite a while. I work and so study hard so that in the future I won't have to work there {anymore}

I mean how to say it yeah? Working is not a bad thing, it's a device for you to be a better person in life in a way that you become a hardworking one.

Whatever → Not show off, I'm just expressing what I thought'

Figure 106: Sarah sharing her experience of working part-time by helping her family food business (*MyAlbum/Sarah/22/24*).

In fact, from her involvement in helping with the earnings of her family, Sarah has learned the value of time and money. In addition, she has learned the cost that is associated with failing in academic examinations by having to retake an examination, and this seems to have hit her quite hard (Figure 107). Sarah's realisation of how difficult it is to earn money, from her experience of failure and having to pay extra money to re-sit her exam, is evidence that the family maintenance motive-orientation is gradually becoming sense-making motive for her. This realisation also serves as evidence to support the assertion that the vocational and career MO is relatively dominant for Sarah and that academic study is a goal strongly subordinating the MO-1 and MO-3.

Page 19:

(Picture of an examination result slip)

This is my first time to retake an exam. Everything is involved when we retake exams, such as money, time and etc. Thus study hard ∴ I don't have to retake exam {again}.

As you know I work. Well, this makes money very hard to get. So yeah, I wouldn't want to retake anymore as it involves \$\$\$ money.

Figure 107: Retaking an exam has taught Sarah about the cost involved in terms of time and money (*MyAlbum/Sarah/19/24*).

The relative importance of intimate personal relationships with respect to family bonding, MO-4, seems to be relatively the next important MO for Sarah. This is inferred from the evidence discussed in sub-section 5.3.2 from page 171, which shows that Sarah was willing to sacrifice her academic study task for family bonding tasks taking place during dinner time (family bonding activity related task), but not the preparation of the dinner (family maintenance activity related task). Nonetheless, although this piece of evidence opposes the above claim that family maintenance supersedes family bonding activity, it is not strong or persistent enough to conclude otherwise. There is more evidence to support Sarah's assumed demand for academic study which sub-ordinates both her MO-1 and MO-2. However the fact that Sarah was willing to sacrifice her academic study activity just to have time to catch up with her other family members on the dining table is showing that the family bonding activity is something meaningful for Sarah as well.

Even intimate personal relationships (MO-5) with respect to friendship bonding are not more important than her future-focussed vocational and career orientation (MO-1). Friendship activity for Sarah is more about having fun and brightening her school life, as has been discussed in sub-section 5.4.3 on page 195, which was supported by the evidence shown in Figure 72 on page 207. However, in relation to the conflict between her academic study activity and friendship activity, Sarah resolved this in favour of the former. Her occasional absence from the friendship activity she shared with her two best friends, Hani and Farah, upset Hani to some extent (Figure 66, page 202). Indeed, Sarah emphasised her academic study activity over her friendship activity, which can be seen from her response to the hypothetical question about whether she would accept her friends' invitation to go to a once-in-a-lifetime concert (Figure 108, page 262).

Harris: (...) if your friends are all there (the concert), aren't you a bit less focussed on your study {because} half of your mind is stuck at the concert (...) so how do you actually cope with that?

(...)

Harris: So Sarah if you said you would not go coz there's still gonna, they're still gonna be...tsk, {what do you call it yeah}, there are still going to be benefits, if you do not go (...)

Sarah: Ummm

Farah: But if you said that (you are not going), why do you like them in the first place?

Sarah: Ummm what what?

Harris: Why do you like the group (performing in the concert) in the first place?

Sarah: Just to have fun you know, for...like urm ... it's urm ... an interest but I'm not gonna like idolise them

Harris: Also you ...

Sarah: If I really like them but I'm not gonna let anything or anyone like conquer my life or like gonna...you know, cut my path of success...you know...yeah if my friends are {still insisting, like they can go, like ... how to yeah, like they want to bring me} and then {they want to go} instead of studying, {they can go}, like I'm not gonna like, bother ... like, like it doesn't {like} have fun {yeah, like, if I have urm} sacrifice, friends and all that stuff, {I can like, if I} take that exam and then be successful, and then {when I am successful}, I can go back to my friends and apologise to them and then {bring them to another concert, other concerts} because I'm successful, I've got money, you know, you can always

(...)

Jimmy: Uhh okay uhh what if you're not successful

Farah: Ooooo (gave a big and long 'O' sound)

Sarah: At least I try, at least I try at least I try my best, it's not like okay...at least I tried

(...)

Harris: If you weren't successful and the...after the results come out, so you basically you just wasted a night of fun

Sarah: No! At least I tried, you know? {Like, not} guilty {yeah ... like how

	do you say it yeah}
Farah:	No regret
Sarah:	No regret, because I tried my best already
(...)	
Sarah:	Urm ... I have ... not gonna feel anything, I will be happy because urm {they like enjoying themselves, but I study}, it feels good. {Like like ... it's difficult to} explain ... urm I won't feel ... (shook head) ... not good because of not going (...)

Figure 108: Sarah's response to the hypothetical issue of going to a once-in-a-lifetime concert.

With respect to her intimate personal relationships, friends (MO-5) seem to be relatively the least important to Sarah. Evidence for this claim can be seen from her refusal to join her best friends for group study, which Hani complained about (see sub-section 5.4.3.1 on page 196 and Figure 66 on page 202). This further supports the fact that intimate personal relationships with respect to friends are no longer the dominant MO for Sarah. The fact that friendship activity was dropped by Sarah for her academic study activity shows that the demand for her intimate personal relationship activity was no longer strongly assumed by her and perhaps the once-dominant demand has been downgraded to an assigned demand for her (Figure 20, page 118). With this inference, it is asserted that Sarah's developmental age according to Elkonin's (1972) model, is at late adolescence, where a vocational and career motive-orientation is dominant.

Meanwhile, there is not enough evidence to determine if the self-comfort related motive-orientation (MO-2) task is more or less important than either family maintenance (MO-3) or family bonding (MO-4) activities for Sarah. Although Sarah on many occasions described her self-comfort related tasks as coming into conflict with her academic study activity, she did not describe conflict between self-comfort related tasks and family maintenance or family bonding activities. The lack of sufficient evidence is the same as the case of Hani described in the previous section. However, although inconclusive, due to the frequency of self-comfort activity related tasks being mentioned by Sarah, and the intensity with

which she engaged with those tasks, the self-comfort related MO is placed relatively higher than the intimate personal relationship related MOs.

6.5 Farah's relation to academic study

From the analysis of Farah's data, her dominant motive-orientation (MO) is repaying the kindness of her parents (MO-1). This motive has subsumed two other MOs, namely vocational and career orientation (MO-2) and family maintenance (MO-3). The subsequent MO in terms of priority is intimate personal relationships with respect to friends (MO-4). The relative importance of Farah's MOs, which represent her motive hierarchy, is represented in Figure 109 on page 264.

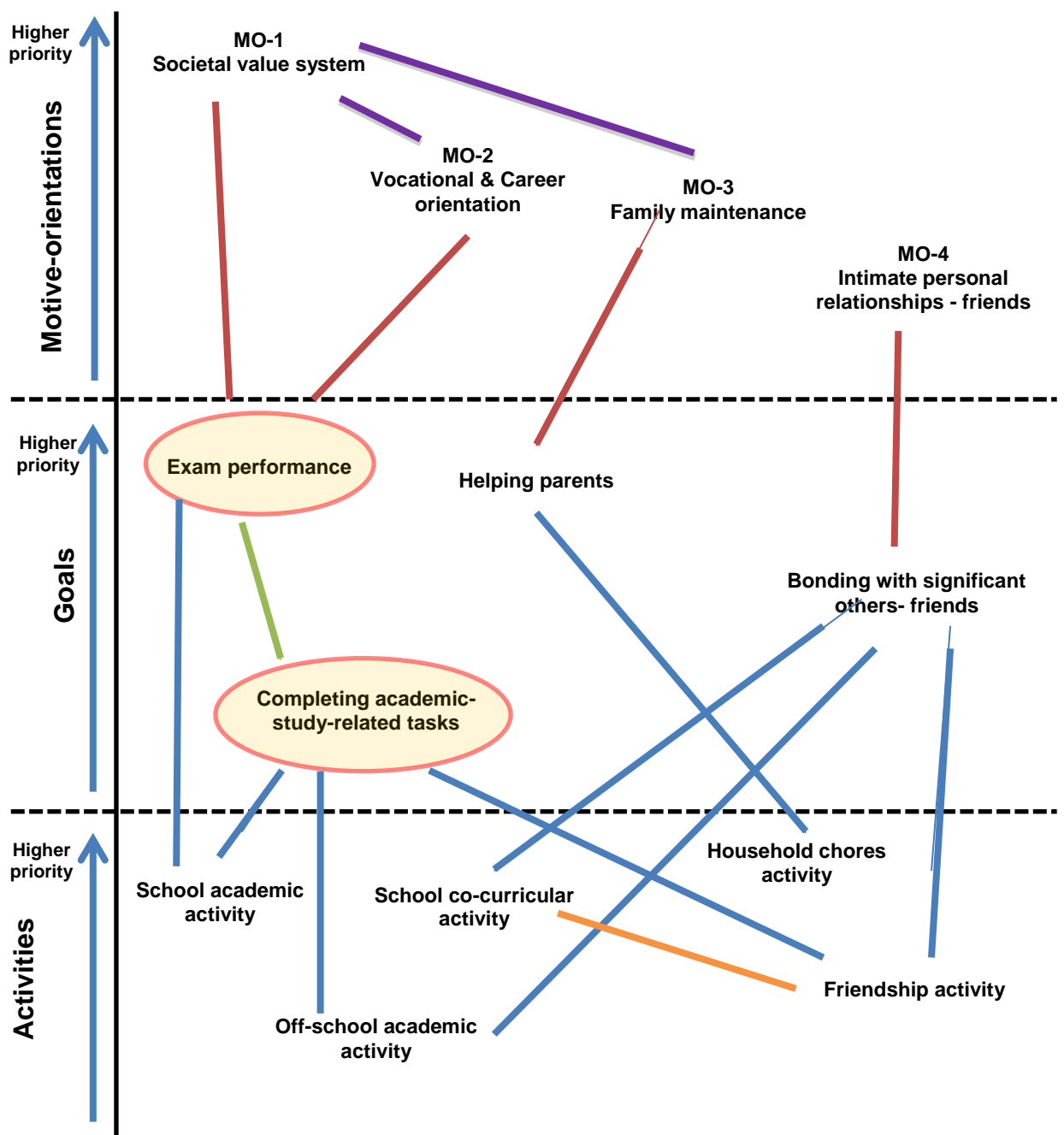


Figure 109: A diagrammatic representation of Farah's motive hierarchy and her relation to academic study

Farah's motive hierarchy seems to be dominated by an orientation towards the societal value system. As discussed in Section 5.1 on page 126, the value system in the context of Brunei Darussalam, not only serves to guide activities in the practice, but it can also become the object towards which the practices and their activities are oriented. For instance, helping and looking after elderly parents

is part of the action of being kind to them that is demanded in Brunei society, especially with the Islamic teaching that is embedded in societal practices.

For Farah, the aspiration to pay back the kindness that she perceives her parents have shown to her is very important for her. This is evidenced on one of her *MyAlbum* pages (Figure 110). Being the eldest child in the family, Farah has assumed the demand of relieving her parents of their existing responsibilities. She intends to do this not only through helping her parents with daily chores but also through studying hard to earn a good living in the future so she can help them financially. With respect to paying her parents back in the future, Farah's intention is also evidenced in Figure 110, Figure 111 and Figure 112. These are a few of the occasions in which Farah mentioned her intention to pay her parents back in the future.

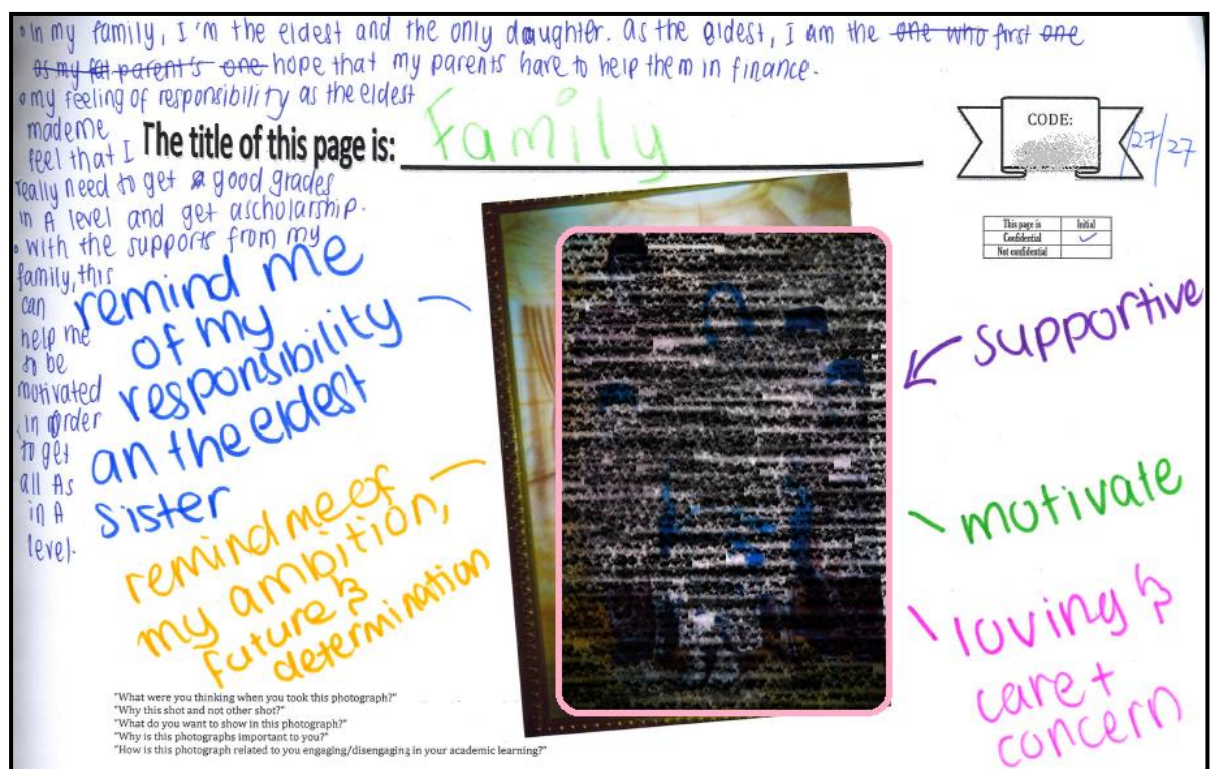


Figure 110: Farah's description of her family and her responsibility as the eldest child in the family

Johan: Ummmm, do you think you have aaa determination, or will power to study?

(...)

Farah: Urm ... ahem ... determination ... I think I have ... which is ... ummm ... my parents... yeah, my parents ... eh I mean ... they, they have done a lot of things for me ... and then ... I really ... {like ... that's my ah, to give them back in return ... yeah to give in return} and then I just wanted them to have a comfortable...{when they, like in the future when they grow old like that ...}

Figure 111: Farah's determination to pay her parents back in the form of giving them a comfortable life in their old age (FGD/Post/M/P41-P42)

Sarah: Okay let's proceed to the next question, the next question is ...umm is there any particular occasion in your life that makes you feel that you have other important things in your life, like apart from your study?

(...)

Farah: Okay me, if ...apart from my study I thinklike Suzy, family is important, yeah, family is important because they are the ones who support us, they pay everything for us for our studies

Sarah: {But} ...

Farah: Without our family we, can't, we can't maybe but can't continue our studies, maybe we can't, maybe we can {but} then

Harris: {indebted}

Farah: Ah..?

Harris: {indebted}

Farah: {Yes ... {indebted}}

Figure 112: FGD – Farah's debt to her parents (FGD/Pre/D/P40-P41)

Being the eldest child in her family, Farah seems to have a lot of responsibilities for household chores, and yet she is willing to fulfil these responsibilities. The

analysis of Farah's data revealed her experience of conflicts between her academic study and her responsibility for the housework, i.e. tasks in relation to family maintenance activity (Figure 113). In addition, as part of achieving her intention of helping her parents in the future, Farah sees her academic study as an important task. As the eldest child, success in her academic study means that she can earn good money to support her family in the future. The conflict for Farah is between the expectations of her current role as the eldest in the family to be doing the household chores, whilst at the same time performing well in her study in order to pay back her parents by providing them with a comfortable old age. Although Farah did not seem to complain about the household chores she is responsible for, when provoked by Hani she admitted that there were times when household chores could pile up and come into conflict with her academic study (Figure 113).

Hani:	{So that's, what (do) you always think when you are studying} So {if you like feel lazy, when you think that, do you continue to study?} Have that..... eee drive ...
Farah:	50%, some of that 50% ummm when ... {if ... hee, if if like} ... I'm really a rebellious type of girl actually. {Don't know} I rebel, {like if suppose} some... aaa some... aaahhh some {right} I have I have a lot of ... I have a lot of household chores to do {right ... if like they don't think about us like my so many things ... "ih ... I am fed up" this and that} ... I have to do this okay ..., I have to do everything ... and then (...) Eh I have to do everything so I have ... {like no time to study like ... it's that time like demotivated ... but then ... there is guilty feelings though ... something like that ...}

Figure 113: FGD - The time when Farah's responsibility for her household chores comes into conflict with her study (FGD/Post/M/P42)

Farah seems to have resolved this conflict by taking into account both the demand for academic study, D(AS) and demand for other than academic study, D(O), in her planned timetable right at the beginning of the academic year. For instance, Farah includes the three meals a day in her timetable, and I am

assuming that she is responsible for the tasks associated with preparing these meals (Figure 29, page 150). Farah also says that she consults her parents to discuss their family time so that she can plan her timetable to minimise conflict between the different activities across the different institutional practices. Factoring housework into her timetable willingly is evidence that Farah assumes the demand of the housework.

In addition, Farah also resolved the conflict by opting to study in the early hours of the day, before dawn, so that she can have a peaceful space to focus on her study. Farah shared this strategy in one of the focus group discussions (Figure 114, page 268). This conflict resolution action harmonises her off-school academic study activity and her family maintenance activity, it shows her willingness to do her off-school academic study tasks, and emphasises further her assumed demand for academic study.

-
- Hakim: (...) when is your best time to do your study for revision either, is it either early morning or late night or anything that you think is the best time for studying?
(...)
- Suzy: For me, I prefer to study early in the morning like before {before dawn} because uuuh it can cause our brain to... emmmm
- Farah: ... It's fresh
- Suzy: Uuuh it's fresh.
- Farah: Umm I agree with Sarah and Suzy because umm in the morning like two o'clock till 4 something, towards {dawn}, after we... because we... I usually sleep early and then wake up around 2 like that and then when I revise and do my revision at that time it will be fresh, no one bothering and then we can relax and everything it is so calm in the morning and {that's it}
-

Figure 114: FGD - Farah studies at odd times to avoid disturbances from other activities at home (FGD/Pre/D/P8-P9)

The importance of academic study for Farah is further evidenced by her reaction when faced with teachers who do not support her as much as she needs. In the

school institution, Farah seems to experience dissatisfaction with her teachers, Farah-TeacherC and Farah-TeacherD, whom she perceives as unsupportive and not meeting her counter-demand (CD) with respect to academic subject study. The discontentment with Farah-TeacherD for instance, pushed Farah to disengage with the subject by not finishing the homework given by the teacher in the beginning. As a matter of fact, the support from her classmates to disregard the Farah-SubjectD homework also further convinced her to give up on Farah-SubjectD. Nonetheless, because of her fear of not doing well in her coming examination, Farah has put effort into catching up with Farah-SubjectD again during the time when her examination is approaching, as can be seen from Figure 115. The latter action by Farah shows that she has strong academic study-related motive-orientation with respect to performing well. Indeed, for Farah, good academic performance will allow her to achieve a good future life and to help her parents, which is related to her dominant motive-orientation, MO-1. Indeed, whilst Farah's willingness shows that demand for academic study activity is assumed, the presence of the counter-demand emphasises further that the activity is very meaningful for her, and it would occupy a relatively high rank in her motive hierarchy (Figure 21, page 119),

-
- Farah: Ah okay... Farah-SubjectC first ... ehe ... okay Farah-SubjectC urm because I have ... ah yeah ... I had an argument because of the teacher and they he inspired me to quit because he didn't even ... yes ... he gives urm he gives us a bad example of himself because he didn't even mark our work, he didn't even do the corrections together, what do I do the things for, {when he himself did not do ...} his own work {right, something like that, yes ... like I am taking revenge on him, let him be}
- Hani: But ... don't you think {like ... you} taking revenge on him but you are... taking revenge on yourself...
- Jimmy: You're actually {like} making your own downfall {that is}
- Hani: Yeah
- Farah: Yes, but then ... {if ... if that ... when it is near the exam, (I) will frantically look for my friends}, I really have to {to do} past year papers by myself and {that's the use of the} marking scheme ...
-

the answers ... and then {if} Farah-SubjectB {and} Farah-SubjectC because... eh eh Farah-SubjectB {and} Farah-SubjectA, both of these subjects are my urm ... my favourite subjects and then and then my teachers are hardworking... and then that's why I (...)

Figure 115: Farah's effort to follow Farah-SubjectD after she was left devastated by Farah-TeacherD (FGD/Post/M/P28-p29)

Indeed, the relative high importance of academic study to Farah is highlighted further by the way in which Farah resolves other matters that come into conflict with her academic study, such as demands for activities other than academic study, D(O), with respect to CCA in school (Figure 116), as well as with respect self-comfort related activities, family bonding activity (Figure 117). These facts also show that the demand for CCA activity and self-comfort activities were of assigned demand for Farah, since they were easier to sacrifice relative to academic study activity (Figure 20, 118).

Suzy: Uuh what are the other matters that always get in the way of your studies? For example do you have any CCA?

Farah: Yes, umm for example Herbalogy, Sign Language and Girl Guides. And the other matters are like housework, I've got lots of chores, and then sometimes umm watching television, I need to spend like at least one hour to watch TV every day so that I don't stress out and time for us to perform our prayers as a Muslim, we have to yeah, it's like our... you know umm... that's all

Figure 116: FGD – Farah's routine at home (FGD/Pre/D/P5)

Johan: Okay... urm ... what are the other matters that always get in the way of your studying?

(...)

Jimmy : Okay, ah well how do you overcome this... other matters... urrrmm, how how how it bothers you how how do you overcome how, how do you (...)

Farah: For me, urm ... I have the other matters also, urm ... Korean Movie, hahaha, Korean, and then family gathering... and then shopping, my mum always brings me shopping and everything and then how I resolve it ... Urm ..., I try my best to stop watching this Korean drama now and then urm ... what is it ... aaa, and then {if} family occasion, yes, urm ... same as you, I ... I didn't come even though my mum {grumbles} ... yeah ... and then {if meeting (CCA)}, hehe, I didn't come hehehe, even though {they like, Farah ... eyh ... why you didn't come, they like, then I like, ahh I forgot},

Jimmy So you just make excuses , {so that, so that, like others would not think that you are} a bad person

Farah: Mmmm, {furthermore right}, I think that's the advantage I don't have any facebook, I don't have any email, I don't have any phone, and yeah..., I think that's the advantage, they can't contact me...

Figure 117: Farah resolving conflict between other matters and her study (FGD/Post/M/P6-P9)

From the perspective of motive-orientation towards intimate personal relationships (MO-4), this is also important for Farah. The importance can be seen from the fact that Farah needs her friends at school to support her emotionally when she has problems with her teachers (see Figure 69, page 205 and Figure 70, page 206). Nonetheless, the importance of friends to Farah is less than her academic study. This can be seen from her counter-demand towards her best friend (Sarah), whom she expects to be supportive and understand that she needs to attend to her academic study tasks (Figure 118). This CD is also reaffirming the inference that Farah has a dominant academic study related MO.

Sarah: And then {say there is this occasion}, like party with your friends, and then ... (...) {like} camping, one day camping, and then the next day test, test, and then what would you do? Would you hang out with your friends (...)?

Farah: Depends on these friends, who are our friends

Sarah: Your best friends (everybody laughs), what would, what would you do?

Farah: May be...

Sarah: If you don't go, like your (inaudible) and then your friends, {she has ..., they have prepared all the stuff} ...

Harris: Like if you don't go to the (...) like you are not my friend anymore

Sarah: Yeah
(...)

Sarah: {The} slumber party... {are you coming or not}?

Farah: Aah slumber party urm ... urm ... maybe {not, or I will persuade my best friend 'eeee I have a test tomorrow, eee you better accompany me with my revision, teach me this this this ah', maybe that's how, just pressure her}

Hakim Or...or tell them, as you are a friend, urm ... you should ...urm ...
:

Farah: A good friend, a good best friend will understand their best friends hehehehe (giggled)

Sarah: Ok

Farah: (laughs)

Figure 118: Farah's expectation for her friends to support her in relation to her academic study (FGD/Pre/D/Farah/P41-P45)

In short, Farah has a relatively dominant MO towards the societal value system, and this MO has subsumed two other MOs, namely the family maintenance MO and the vocational and career MO. Academic study is subsumed as a goal under the vocational and career MO, as well as directly under the societal value system MO. Since these two MOs are dominant in Farah's motive hierarchy, her relation to academic study is strong. Subsequently, although intimate personal relationships (friends) are important and meaningful for Farah, they are relatively less dominant.

6.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the motive hierarchy of each of the four chosen young people, Ruby, Hani, Sarah and Farah, describing their relative relation to academic study. The construction of the respective motive hierarchy illustrates the process of Ascent from the empirically-grounded theoretical Model of Motive Hierarchy presented in the early part of this chapter. The Model of Motive Hierarchy is a collection of motive-orientations that are of relative importance to each other, through the analysis of the activities and goals of a person. The process is guided by the guidelines and flowchart developed in this research underlined by the methodological concepts from Davydov (1990).

Indeed, the process of constructing the model through the empirical evidence explored in this study, and describing the relation of the young people to academic study through the model invited massive dialectical movements in between. The write up in this chapter (and the previous chapter) seems too linear to do justice to the intense process experienced. Nonetheless, this chapter started with a description of the general structure for developing the empirically-grounded theoretical model of young people's relation to academic study in the context of Brunei Darussalam. The subsequent sub-sections described the relation of four of the SRs to academic study, through the developing model. It is important to draw attention to the different activities and goals that are presented in the young women's individual models of their motive hierarchies. This shows the richness their activities. These are just their main activities that are academic study related or come into conflict or harmony with the academic study activities. Yet, not all of the SRs were discussed in this research due to the various limitations of and in producing this thesis.

7. Discussion

The aim of this study is to investigate the relation of young people in their late adolescence to academic study, in the context of Brunei Darussalam society. The main impetus for this study is the desire to inform the development of intervention programmes to motivate young people to engage with academic study. This is to support the Ministry of Education's initiatives in relation to achieving *Wawasan Brunei 2035* (Brunei Vision 2035). With this intention in mind, the discussion in this chapter will focus on three themes: findings to inform the development of intervention programmes to improve young people's engagement in academic study, a reflection on the methodological approach of analysing motive hierarchies, and a consideration of developing related intervention in Brunei Darussalam.

For the first theme, five of the main findings have been selected for further discussion. The selection is based on my experiences and assumption that these findings will allow a better understanding of the practices in which interventions are to be made. First, it has been found that while young people aged 16-18 in the context of Brunei Darussalam are expected to have a vocational and career motive-orientation, the evidence shows that this is not a common dominant motive-orientation for young people. Second, an interesting difference between families with an established tradition of successful academic study performance and families, especially new nuclear families, who are still establishing this tradition, has emerged from this research. Third, is the struggle within a group of best friends and the dynamic of demands and counter-demands in relation to friendship activity and academic study activity. Fourth is the emergence of the societal value system as the object that young people can be oriented towards. Fifth is the emergence of self-comfort related activities that can become a strong competitor to other activities including academic study activity.

The second theme involves a reflection on the main issues relating to the methodological approach in order to provide a way to analyse motive hierarchies. These include first an adjustment of one of the developed intermediary tools for data analysis, and to expand its usage for data collection. Second is to look at

young people's time management strategies as a method of accessing young people's experiences of conflicts and conflict resolution. Third are suggestions for improving the data collection tools, *MyAlbum* and *MyQuestionnaire*. Fourth involves a short discussion on the issue of representation in this research.

The third theme involves a brief discussion of an intervention plan that involves school teachers in Brunei Darussalam. Three main purposes of the intervention are identified and discussed. Various personal discussions with school teachers show promising opportunity for the development of this intervention as one of the outcomes of this research.

7.1 Discussion of the findings

7.1.1 Varied dominant motive-orientations

This study has shown that a group of young people from the same cohort of students, in the same class, of similar ages, similar outward behaviour towards their academic study, and in fact in the same best friend circle (Farah, Hani and Sarah), differ hugely from each other in terms of their relation to academic study. Elkonin (1972) emphasised that it is difficult to distinguish the dominant activity for adolescence because of the fact that young people's activities have expanded beyond academic study activities which dominate the childhood stage. According to Elkonin, young people around the age of 16-18 generally fall under the late adolescence stage, and he asserted that the leading motive for this stage would be a vocational and career-oriented motive. However, as has also been asserted by Bozhovich (2009), there are no distinct boundaries in terms of chronological age that determine the stage of development of a person. These assertions from both Elkonin (1972) and Bozhovich (2009) support the findings that the young people in this research within the age of 16-18 show varied dominant motive-orientations that are not necessary typical of their chronological age group.

The existence of different developmental ages within a group of young people similar in chronological age, sitting in the same class at school, and even within the same circle of friends or even best friends, is evidenced from the young people's motive hierarchies. Whilst it is expected for young people at this age to

be dominantly vocational and career oriented, the data from this study show that vocational and career motive-orientation is of differing importance to each young person. In this study, only Sarah shows a dominant vocational and career motive-orientation, while her best friend Hani has vocational and career motive-orientation as the least important.

For young people of this age group, the expectation for them to have dominant vocational and career motive-orientation is expressed in the form of demand for them to participate in related activities. Those with dominant vocational and career motive-orientation express relatively less conflict between activities linked to their vocational and career motive-orientation, compared to the conflict that they experience in relation to other contradicting activities from other demands. This can be seen especially in the case of Sarah. Sarah has an intimate personal relationship motive-orientation that is relatively far less important than her academic study-related motive-orientation, when compared to Ruby and Farah. Her academic study activity supports her future-focussed vocational and career orientation, which is her dominant motive-orientation. Such dominant future-focussed motive-orientation was apparent when it was comparatively easier for Sarah to resolve conflicts that arose from the contradiction between the vocational and career motive-orientation and her intimate personal relationship motive-orientation.

However, for those in the age group who still have the motive-orientation of the previous developmental age as dominant, like Hani, such futuristic vocational and career motive-orientation demand creates intense conflict for her. Across her data, Hani expresses complaints and grievances about different people in the practice, including her family members, friends and teachers. Her complaints and grievances not only show the conflicts that she is experiencing, but also the dissatisfaction that she feels when these important people in her life do not support her in the way she believes that they should. The existence of the counter-demand towards the different people in her life strengthens further the inference of intimate personal relations as Hani's dominant motive-orientation.

Indeed, the data analysis further shows that the co-existence of motives of different developmental stages is the main source of contradiction for the young

people. Elkonin (1972) suggested that the relation to a new activity does not cancel the relation to an old activity. For instance, in the case of Ruby and Farah, although their dominant motive-orientation is the future-focussed orientation which subordinates their academic study activity, they still have intimate personal relationships as the motive-orientation that is subsequently important and meaningful for them. These two SRs still enjoy their friendship-activity-related tasks, but should the activity come into conflict with academic study activity, they resolve the conflict in favour of the latter.

With such a phenomenon of young people of the same group of young people having different motive-orientations, who come with diverse relations to academic study, in the same class for instance, it is imperative to address these young people accordingly. Intervention programmes to make academic study activity more meaningful for young people cannot take the form of 'one intervention fits all' in Brunei, but have to take into account the motive hierarchy of the young people involved.

7.1.2 Established and establishing the tradition of successful academic performance

It is evidenced in this study that, in a family with an established tradition of off-school academic study activity, such as that represented by Ruby, there is less conflict experienced by the young people from the contradiction of the demand for academic study activity and demand for other than academic study activity. However, in a family where the practice for off-school academic study is still establishing, for instance those who come from a nuclear family like Hani, intense conflict is experienced by the young people.

The analysis of the historical context of Brunei shows two different trends of settlement of the people in the country. On the one hand, people who came from Kampong Ayer (Water Village in Brunei Town), bought large areas of land in anticipation that future generations of their family would live in close proximity. This has produced a generation of young people who grow up in a huge extended family setting, where the different individual families share a common tradition of practice, including the tradition of good performance in academic

study, as can be seen in the case of Ruby. On the other hand, the discovery of oil and gas in the town of Seria in the year 1929 (Brown, 1984; Horton, 1986; Horton 1985) led to the increasing trend of people moving and resettling in the new town, which marks perhaps the beginning of the trend of the nuclear family in the country. Within such families, there seem to be struggles to set up practices in the family, including in relation to academic study activity, as portrayed in the case of Hani.

Perhaps young people's relation to academic study as related to the tradition of practice in a family/an extended family shares similarities in process to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation in society that was suggested by Lave and Wenger (1991). This concept emphasised that a person, given time, is drawn from peripheral to full participation in a community practice. Perhaps in a similar process, a young person who is brought up in a family where there is a tradition of academic success will be drawn into and be part of that practice. As such, being successful academically within an established set-up is part of the life of the young person.

In the case of Ruby, who comes from the established tradition of academic study activity with successful academic performance, academic study activity does not seem to create too much conflict in the family or school institutional practice. In fact, Ruby's dominant motive-orientation is the continuation of the family tradition of academic success. This results in the relatively low emotional tension as she resolves the conflicts that arise from the contradiction between academic study activity and other activities across the practices. The actions that Ruby took in relation to her friendship activity with the two groups of friends, the 'gangster gang' and the 'good friends' respectively (sub-section 5.4.3.1 from page 196), show clearly her academic study related orientation. The same example also indicates that the orientation towards intimate personal relationships still exists for Ruby, but as has been mentioned earlier, this motive-orientation is of relatively less importance for her than her academic study-related motive-orientation, which is the continuation of the tradition of academic success in her immediate and extended family.

In contrast, Hani, who comes from a small, newly set up nuclear family, finds that activities other than academic study generate intense conflict with her academic study activity. In her family, Hani experiences not only strong demand for academic study success but also on top of the demand for setting up the practice of off-school academic study activity (see Section 5.3, page 168). Nonetheless her actions show that these demands conflict with her own desire, which is related to her dominant motive-orientation, the orientation towards intimate personal relationships. So, in comparison to Ruby, it can be inferred that Hani's struggles to do her academic study-related tasks at home are probably due to the lack of an established practice in her home. This conflict is emphasised further by the fact that Hani still shows a dominant intimate personal relationship motive-orientation. Indeed, the evidence that points towards the additional demands for Hani to start the practice puts further weight on the demand for academic study that intensifies the conflict experienced by her. The intense conflict was expressed all over Hani's data.

The idea of established and establishing the tradition of successful academic performance in a family is an interesting phenomenon that has emerged from this research. Nevertheless, the fact that this finding is inferred from only a few young women limits its generalisation. Moreover, it is important to note again that this research has only investigated the young people (SRs)' perspectives. Because of this, further research to understand this aspect of the family institutional structure in the context of Brunei Darussalam needs to expand the data collection to include the perspectives of parents, siblings and extended family members. A deeper study of the cultural and historical aspects of the evolution of family structure and tradition should also be considered. This might include studying the direct and indirect impact of the oil industries on family institutional practice.

The finding discussed above may imply that there could be other traditions of practice with respect to academic study activity at home. One of my guesses is that the tradition of 'loitering' that may originate from *Kampong Air* (Water Village). In fact, the houses in *Kampong Air* proliferate from the practice of a married child building their house next to their parents, as there are no title deeds to limit such building. It was not until the 1970s that the building of new houses in *Kampong Air* was stopped (Jabatan Daerah Brunei dan Muara, 1975). In the

past, the people in *Kampong Air* lived from fishing as their source of income and food. The practice of 'loitering' associated with this was that they and their family members would generally sit in the *pantaran*¹⁰, and have some casual talk while recovering from their tiredness and waiting for dusk to perform their *Maghrib*¹¹ prayer. In relation to the analysis done in this study, this activity may be categorised as family bonding activity. With the introduction of the system of schooling, the academic study activity which demands young people's time contradicts with the demand of family bonding activity and thus creates conflict for the young people.

The guess above implies that other important potential aspects of the tradition of practice in the context of Brunei could be essential and central in understanding the societal practice. It is important to continue this study to explore different aspects of societal practices in relation to academic study in order to inform the design of the intended intervention programme.

7.1.3 Academic study activity versus friendship activity

The dynamic within friendship groups in relation to academic study activity can be seen from analysing the counter-demand (CD) of the young people towards their friends in different circles of friends. One of the strengths of this research that allowed this analysis to happen is the composition of its participants who took the role of Student Researchers (SRs). Through the snowballing approach, I managed to recruit young people from a circle of friends within which there was also a group of best friends. In this thesis, peers refer to their classmates, seatmates and schoolmates.

In relation to CD towards friends, if the young people perceive that their friends are capable academically, they expect their friends to help them with their academic study activity related tasks. However, their counter-demands towards their peers, friends and best friends vary according to the role that they perceive

¹⁰ *Pantaran* is a purpose-built large veranda in front of a house, generally in *Kampong Air* (Water Village) in Brunei.

¹¹ *Maghrib* prayer (Dawn) is performed by Muslims between the time soon after sunset to until the time at which darkness falls and there is no scattered light in the sky. (<http://praytimes.org/calculation/>, 30 September 2014)

their friends should provide. Generally, their counter-demand is related towards seeking support from the other young people that they meet in school in relation to school academic study activity. For example, in the case of Hani, she demanded that her classmates and seatmate be quiet to allow her to focus on the lesson. Another example is Farah, who demanded that her friends calmed and supported her when she had problems with her teachers.

The young people who have a relatively dominant academic study-related motive-orientation seem to demand support with academic study activity related tasks from their friends and best friends who they perceive to have good performance in their academic study, and vice-versa. This is illustrated by the expectation of Farah towards Ruby, who is known to have a good reputation for academic performance (sub-section 6.5, from page 263). Meanwhile, Ruby also seeks the support of her 'good friend' group to sustain her performance in her academic study. Nonetheless, Ruby did not mention Farah as the source of support for her academic activity, but expects Farah and her group to share other fun social-related tasks with her. This can be seen as Ruby's CD towards Farah and her group for their social support and not for their academic support.

Within the best friend circle, friendship activity seems to be relatively more elaborate. Academic study related tasks can also be part of the tasks for friendship activity. If this is the case, then the academic study activity is in harmony with the friendship activity. For instance in the case of Ruby, the friendship activity related tasks she shares with her 'good friends' are related to academic study. For Ruby, who has a dominant academic study-related motive-orientation, the friendship activity that she shares with her 'good friends' is highly important for her.

However, if the academic study activity related tasks are in contradiction with friendship activity related tasks, there will be conflict between the two tasks for the young people in the best friend circle. This conflict can sometimes become intense, especially in the period leading up to examinations or assignment deadlines. The resolution of conflict within the best friend group is rather subtle and most of the time is resolved in favour of the demand of the friendship activity rather than the dominant motive-orientation of the individual young people.

However, in the period leading up to examinations and assignment deadlines, the dominant motive-orientation prevails. Sarah, for instance, who has a dominant future motive-orientation, would rather miss the best friend activity, especially during the period leading up to examinations or assignment deadlines. Hani, on the other hand, who has a dominant intimate personal relationships motive-orientation, would still proceed with the best friend activity related tasks despite her feeling that the activity would be taxing on her preparation of academic study activity related tasks.

In short, it is challenging to infer the young people's dominant motive-orientation from their friendship activity, as they become more accommodating of conflicts and tend to resolve these in favour of friendship activity. This is probably due to the fact that the young people still have motive-orientation towards intimate personal relationships, although this may not be dominant. This observation supports Leontiev's (1978) assertion that the old motive is still retained, although a person has gain new motives. However, in the period leading up to examinations or deadlines, when the young people are 'forced' to resolve the conflict, their dominant motive-orientation will become apparent. This finding has two implications for future research. First, in terms of data collection that involves the contradiction within friend and best friend groups. This kind of research should include investigation of individuals' existing responsibilities and demands, for instance to perform well in their academic exams or demands from the family institutional practice such as in relation to family maintenance activity, and how these affect group dynamics and young people's expectations of each other. The group dynamic in relation to academic study activity should be studied across different groups of young people, to allow a better understanding of the crossover between young people's motive hierarchy and the demand for friendship activity.

Second is to inform the design of intervention programmes aimed at making academic study activity more meaningful for young people. This needs to take into account the tendency to give in to friendship activity, even if young people have a relatively more dominant relation to academic study in terms of motive-orientation. This action arises because of the strong demand from the group of friends and best friends, which may be even stronger if the group consists of

members who still retain intimate personal relationships as their dominant motive-orientation.

7.1.4 Orientation towards the societal value system

Brunei Darussalam has a strong societal value system that is represented in its national philosophy, Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB). The value system underlines the acceptable ways for people in the society to participate and act in different societal activities (Leontiev, 1978). Indeed, within the context of Brunei Darussalam, the adherence to societal values has become one of the main demands within an institutional practice. In such a case, young people's obedience to their parents, teachers and conformance to even the undesirable conditions in the practices can be observed. In this study, there are various examples of the actions of the young people that are bound by the value system. For instance, Hani tried to avoid disturbing the lesson and being impolite to her teacher, sat at the back of her class and secretly played with her seatmate. This action is portraying the value of obedience and respect for the teacher and the respective classmates who are focussing on their lesson, despite her boredom with the teacher and the lesson. Other examples include the young people taking responsibility for helping with family maintenance activity, such as handling some household chores.

However, an interesting aspect that has emerged from the data analysis is that the societal value system could become the object that the young people are oriented towards. Obedience and conformance are further extended to become the objective-motive that the young people could be oriented towards. For Farah, this motive-orientation is a dominant one. Farah has put the need to pay back her parents for their kindness as the most important for her. Although like other SRs, she has vocational and career motive-orientation which subordinates her academic study activity, as well as family maintenance motive-orientation, both of these motive-orientations themselves are subordinated under the motive-orientation towards the societal value system.

The orientation towards the societal value system has emerged to be an interesting phenomenon in this research. In the context of Brunei, the teachings

of societal values are accomplished through both formal and informal education. From the informal education perspective, Jamil (2008) emphasised the propagation of socially acceptable values and practices within community practices. These include respect towards parents and the elderly, which according to Jamil is emphasised many times in the Holy Quran and has become an important value in society. Societal values are also part of the curriculum in both religious schools and the main education system¹². Perhaps, these different related activities have so much appeal to be meaningful for young people that they become the object-motive which young people are oriented towards.

In research that aims to investigate further the societal value system as the object that young people are oriented towards, care must be taken in the analysis of the data. As the societal value system is a system that is culturally and historically embedded in the society and underscores the ways things are done in everyday life, young people can easily utter and show their needs and how things are to be done, but this does not mean that those are actually important and meaningful for them. The analysis needs to focus on the actions of conflict resolution and desire of the young people, which needs to prioritise aspects of societal value – such as paying back parents' kindness, in the case of Farah. For this to be a dominant motive-orientation, the actions need to be consistent and persistent. In the case of Farah, actions showing this motive-orientation can be seen across her various activities at school and in the family institution. The family maintenance tasks that she is responsible for are considered in her pre-planned timetable and her intention to help her parents is expressed in various parts of her data. Her actions, both physically and mentally, show persistence in the direction of paying back her parents – which is part of the values of society.

¹² Religious school in Brunei Darussalam is a separate education system than the main education system. The religious schools teach the Islamic curriculum and are run by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, while the main schools teach the general curriculum, including Islamic religious study as an academic subject, and are run by the Ministry of Education.

7.1.5 Self-comfort related activities

Another aspect that has emerged and become prominent in this research is the counter-demand of young people towards self-comfort related activities. This counter-demand is categorised as demand for activities other than academic study, D(O), which comes into contradiction with the demand for academic study, D(AS). This self-inflicted demand by young people comprises of activities that are of leisure and entertainment nature, hobbies and lazing around.

This demand is seen across the young people regardless of their motive hierarchy. Most of the time, the young people are aware of the conflict that comes between self-comfort related tasks and academic study related tasks. Although they intend to resolve the conflict by spacing out the two different tasks, generally they tend to get carried away doing the self-comfort related tasks. This is especially evident with hobbies such as surfing the internet and reading books. Perhaps the concept of Flow Theory, which describes an intense degree of engagement (Wong & Csikszentmihalyi, 1991; Shernoff et al., 2003), can be used to explain the deep engagement of the young people with self-comfort tasks that compromise academic study activity. Perhaps the self-comfort related tasks predominate due to the amount of time adolescents have (Hendry, Shucksmith, Love and Glendinning, 1993) or the fact that the D(AS) is still negotiable.

However, in the period leading up to their examinations or deadlines, the conflict created by engagement in those self-comfort related tasks seems to create a high degree of tension. For the young people to whom self-comfort activities are important, compromising these activities in favour of academic study revision tasks or finishing assignments comes with great difficulty. These self-comfort activities consume the young people's time and leave little space for them to prepare for their examinations or meet deadlines, thus causing tensions and intensifying the conflict experienced between D(AS) and D(O).

My supposition to explain the prevalence of self-comfort related activities is as a spin-off effect of the rich oil and gas industries in the country. The provision of a wide range of subsidies including electricity, water, gas, rice, sugar and housing, as well as free education, medical and health care and almost tax-free living, may have made life relatively easy for people in Brunei. The close-knit kinship of the

family that reflects the low value of individualism in Brunei society, as mentioned by Blunt (1988), may also have led to the support of less fortunate members, or members who are not yet financially independent. This may have led to a feeling of complacency and lack of a sense of urgency among young people in the country. Moreover, the increased trend of high lifestyles in the country from the early 1980s that mark a rich country may have given permission for its people to be pampered with luxuries and a relatively relaxed and slower pace of life. Hence, perhaps such a phenomenon is also seen in the young people in this research.

A further study into this phenomenon would be interesting and may lead to further insight and understanding of young people's relation to academic study. Perhaps questions around lifestyle and the various self-comfort related activities, as well as exploration of the nature of these activities, could be included to collect the data needed. With such details of self-comfort related activities, the conflict and the action of conflict resolution experienced from its contradiction to academic study activity should then be analysed.

7.2 Reflection on the methodological approach

This research has embarked on the identification of data needed to analyse and interpret motive-orientations and motive hierarchy in order to construct an empirically-grounded theoretical model of young people's relation to academic study. The main strength of this research is its ability to collect and analyse its data as required. The design of the empirical work, which includes the earlier pilot study and a month-long data collection period with a semi-participatory research approach, allowed for productive interaction with the Student Researchers (SRs). These interactions informed the development of this research and its data collection tools.

This section will highlight the intermediary tools developed for the data analysis in this research, and suggest how the tool should be used earlier on in the data collection stage of research. As research of this kind expands further and more knowledge of Brunei Darussalam's young people's motive-orientations is revealed, the tools will also be improved accordingly. Another aspect that will be

highlighted here is the process and content of a pre-planned (or unplanned) timetable as an interesting window to peek into the way in which young people resolve conflicts and the rich issues around this. Three of the noticeable weaknesses of the data collection in this research are the phenomenon of 'kiasu' that has been overlooked; the hypothetical questions that were introduced in the focus group discussion (FGD); and the grouping of the young people in the FGD.

7.2.1 Data analysis – the intermediary tools developed

The analysis of the data and its interpretation to answer the research question was one of the most challenging parts of this research. I have come up with three intermediary tools such as the Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) and the guidelines for analysing the empirical data for demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolutions (Figure 19: Demand - counter-demand between young people and the institutional practice. Figure 20 on page 118) and the flowchart for determining the dominance of the motive-orientation from the action of conflict resolutions (Figure 21, page 119). These tools support the analytical approach in analysing and interpreting the empirical data. The Individual-Practice-Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) serves as an intermediary tool to highlight the contradiction of the different demands in the societal practice.

The singling out of the demand for academic study, D(AS), from the demand for activities other than academic study, D(O) has allowed the analysis to focus on young people's academic study activity in relation to other activities within and across the institutional practices, in the form of conflict and conflict resolution. The D(O) was not meant to collapse all other activities into one. Indeed, the analysis was kept opened for D(O), hence the emergence of the demands in relation to family maintenance and family bonding activities within the family institutional practice. In addition, the analysis through this model has also allowed the emergence of interesting motive-orientations such as the societal value system as the object, and an interesting group of activities identified as self-comfort related activities.

The flowchart (Figure 21, page 119) was meant to guide the inference of the relative dominance of motive-orientations from young people's actions of conflict resolution. This tool, together with the guidelines for analysing the empirical data for demand, counter-demand, conflict and conflict resolution (Figure 20, page 118), has allowed for the differentiation of young people's motive-orientation. The differentiation of motive-orientations in collective for a young person allows for the inference of the young person's motive hierarchy. This process of ascending to the concrete is important in constructing an empirically-grounded theoretical model of the relation of young people to academic study.

Although these intermediary procedures were developed from dialectic interactions with the process of data analysis and have proven to be useful in this research, they can be enhanced further. For instance, this research has managed to collect a rich amount of data on conflict and conflict resolution between academic study activity and activities other than academic study. The conflicts relating to these contradictions and how they are resolved is important in inferring the importance of academic study activity relative to other activities. However, there is often a lack of data to infer the relative importance among the activities other than academic study activity. This insufficiency has made it difficult to interpret the young people's motive hierarchies, as the motive hierarchy of a young person is not only comprised of academic study activity related motive-orientation, but also other essential motive-orientations which are not subsumed by academic study activity. The difficulty of interpreting the motive hierarchy is illustrated in Chapter 6 with the case of Hani.

I believe that this problem can be overcome through adjustment of the intermediary tool, i.e. the extension of the use of the Individual-Practice Demand Relation Model (Figure 18, page 111) to guide the data collection rather than it being used for data analysis alone, as was done in this research. Before this is done, it is suggested that instead of collapsing the D(O) into 'everything else apart from academic study activity', it should include the demand of some other activities that are important for young people in Brunei, perhaps starting with those identified in this research, such as family bonding activity, family maintenance activity, and self-comfort related activities. Perhaps also, as further study is done, more activities that are important for young people can be included

in the D(O). By doing this, there is more opportunity to capture the experience of young people in responding to or resolving conflict beyond just conflict with the demand of academic study activity. This will allow a fuller picture of the motive hierarchy of the young people in the context of Brunei Darussalam to be drawn and their relation to academic study to be understood.

7.2.2 Time management

Another interesting aspect that can be used to explore the experience of young people with respect to assigned demand and assumed demand (see Figure 20, page 118), is how young people manage their time. Basically, one of the facets of the conflicts experienced by young people appears in the form of time clashes or time constraints. The initiative of time management can be seen as an action to resolve such conflicts. For instance, one piece of evidence contributing to the inference of Farah's motive-orientation towards the societal value system is from the analysis of the process and content of her pre-planned timetable.

Further research to explain young people's relation to academic study should explore young people's time management more. This can include exploring the different activities that are considered or not considered in timetable planning. However, some young people do not make a pre-planned timetable to manage their time. In the case of Ruby, she mentioned a few times that she does not need to have a pre-planned timetable to manage her time, as her time management comes naturally. This was also one of the pieces of evidence used to infer Ruby's established tradition of after-school academic study activity at home. However, for others like Suzy, the absence of such a pre-planned timetable indicates the relatively lower importance of academic study for her. Looking at the timetable can also lead to information about whether the pre-planned timetable is followed or otherwise, and these issues or conflicts can be explored further with respect to other important activities that lead to sacrifice of the pre-planned activities, or vice versa.

7.2.3 Consideration of the methods of data collection

This study started naively by exploring different methods and approaches to try to understand the everyday experiences of young people with respect to academic study. This can be seen from the pilot study conducted for this purpose (see Section 4.3, page 63). The three methods of data collection, focus group discussion, *MyAlbum* and *MyQuestionnaire*, have already been discussed in sub-section 4.4.3 on page 72, including their individual strengths and limitations. In this section, there will be more reflection on, and exploration of, two of the tools.

One of the issues with *MyAlbum* is the inadequacy of the notes accompanying each of the photos. After my experience conducting this research, I think that the instructions for *MyAlbum* (and other data collection tools) could have been made more specific. During the data collection for this research, it was emphasised that the SRs should share ‘everything and anything’ that they thought was important for other people to understand their experience of academic study. This instruction could be made more specific, for example by asking the young people to share their experiences of different expectations of them from different people in their everyday lives, across the institutional practices. It could also help to ask young people about the many things that they need to do in their everyday lives that demand their time and attention, and which of these things are the most important and most difficult to sacrifice in order to focus on academic study.

With respect to *MyQuestionnaire*, although the construction of this tool was quite impromptu, it has provided this research with invaluable data about the young people, and I suggest that this tool be retained in future research. However, perhaps the SRs’ task of coming up with questions for people to ask them in order to understand their experience of academic study could be expanded further to create a dialogue session between SRs in pairs. Drawings could be used as prompts for these discussions. This seems like an interesting tool for data collection that could be explored further.

7.2.4 Issue on representation

This research embarked ambitiously by recruiting thirteen young people aged between 14 – 18 years old as Student Researchers (SRs) through snowballing

sampling. The SRs who were in charge of recruiting their friends were reminded to include different genders and different groups of young people through their network of friends. Nonetheless, as it turned out, although the group comprised of a 'good mix' of young people initially, the decision to focus only on the young people between 16-18 years old has reduced the number of students to be analysed and discussed (see sub-section 4.4.1 from page 66). The remaining SRs were reduced further because of the lack of richness in their responses which did not allow for analysis and inference of their motive-orientations, let alone their motive hierarchy. A summary of the students who were selected and removed for the analysis and discussion in this research is shown in Appendix 2. With only six young women SRs left for the analysis of demands (Chapter 5, from page 125) and only four of them analysed in further detail for their relation to academic study, the issue of representation would be a major critique of this research. For example, Bryman (2012) refers to the limited scientific authority a researcher has on his/her work in this case. This sub-section is written to acknowledge and discuss the existence of this issue.

The intention of this research, as has been stated throughout this thesis, is to explain the relation of young people in the cultural historical context of Brunei Darussalam, to academic study. This is done through constructing an empirically-grounded model, the Model of Motive Hierarchy. The theoretical 'part' of the model is informed by the Theory of Activity, particularly Leontiev's (1978) concept of motive, the model of children participation across institutional practices by Hedegaard (1999, 2004, 2009), and the idea of systemic internal relations by Davydov (1990). The model is supported by the findings from the analysis of the empirical data, which happened to be six young women for the first part, with four of them further analysed in more detail for the second part of the analysis. As such, the Model of Motive Hierarchy developed from this research bears robustness that allows for young people's individual motive hierarchy to be mapped. However, since its construction was only supported by the experience of six young women, there is potential that young men and even more young women would provide more useful insight to continue with fine tuning the model.

However, an aspect of this research that is more affected by the lack of representation is the summary of activities across the institutional practices that

projected demands towards young people in Brunei Darussalam as they emerged from analysis of the empirical data in this research (Figure 84, page 221). The summary, which is diagrammatically represented in the figure, could have represented a certain group of young women only. Nonetheless, the summary could serve as a starting point for future research of this kind, and even perhaps in the form of intervention initiatives (see the following section), through which, the inclusion of more young people of different groups and genders in future research would help develop the summary further.

On another note, despite the issue of representation which is limited to a certain group or gender of young people, as a pioneer of its kind, this research offers a promising start. As stated, further research like this or intervention initiatives arising from this research would provide useful information to develop the Model of Motive Hierarchy in general, and to understand the activities that young people in Brunei Darussalam participate in with respect to understanding their relation to academic study. The next section offers a thought that I have, supported by some informal interaction with school teachers in Brunei Darussalam with respect to initiating a small scale intervention.

7.3 A consideration for intervention in Brunei Darussalam

This sub-section is constructed based on my personal observation and anticipation of the possible ways of developing the experiences and findings from this research into some useful interventions that can be rolled out in Brunei Darussalam. Although I am passionate about the fundamentality of this research as it explores the underlying systemic internal relations that ground young people's relation to academic study, I have to concur with the fact that this cultural historical theoretical framework is not yet accepted widely in mainstream psychology elsewhere, including in Brunei Darussalam. This fact forces me to be more careful in bringing my theoretical conceptions to the table for discussion, but to limit it to the language that teachers understand, including borrowing some from mainstream psychology or vernacular terms, such as motivation, engagement, intrinsic motivation, and motive.

However on the positive note, I have the impression that it is relatively easy to convince teachers in this country of the findings of this research. This fact was apparent when I presented this research to the Ministry of Education as well as at the International Conference of Education (ICE) organised by Universiti Brunei Darussalam, a local university in this country. The ready acceptance by teachers is because of the fact that this study is grounded in everyday practices that they are very familiar with. In exploiting this acceptance, it is thought that the intervention should start at a small classroom scale. In fact, I have spoken to some teachers about this idea, and they are willing to try it for their students.

The intervention effort should serve at least three main purposes. First, from the school teachers' perspective, to use the intermediary tools to investigate their students' motive hierarchy. This does not mean that they are going to be given the intermediary tools as such, but those tools need to be transformed into a usable and user-friendly toolkit that they can use for investigating their students. Second is to use the findings and experiences from the process above to further develop the general context for understanding the relation of young people in Brunei Darussalam to academic study. As suggested in the previous sub-section, this could build from the context that has been described in this research. Third is to contemplate, develop and further fine-tune the Model of Motive Hierarchy and its analytical framework that has started to develop in this research.

7.4 Contribution to the development of Cultural Historical Theory

Overall, this research has offered a holistic approach to studying young people and their relation to academic study, incorporating both the theoretical and empirical perspective through the development of the Model of Motive Hierarchy. Such a model is lacking in this theoretical tradition, let alone one that is empirically grounded. Moreover, studying the motive-orientations and motive hierarchy for young people during late adolescence is also difficult as their activity has expanded tremendously. The challenges were experienced throughout this study. Nonetheless, such study has opened the door for more exploration of motive-orientations and motive hierarchy of these young people, a relation that was always claimed as complex (Ainley, 2012)

The study also offers the incorporation of the concept of personal sense, stimulating motive and sense-making motive (Leontiev, 1978), as well as the concept of motive-orientation that was propagated by Hedegaard (2008), into its analytical framework. In addition, the analysis has also incorporated and explored the developmental age related motive-orientation that was asserted by Elkonin (1971) with respect to young people's relation to academic study. This is not just theoretical or empirical study alone, but it is a study that has been built on the dialectic interaction of the two. The resulting model was even tested to describe four of the Student Researchers in this study. Such a research design has incorporated robustness in the resulting model, as well as the different tools that were constructed alongside this study.

This research kicked off from a naïve desire to understand young people's relation to academic study through the Theory of Activity within the cultural historical tradition. Although the theory offers an interesting perspective that looks into the underlying genotype relations to explain the phenomenon, the existing literature did not offer a comprehensive tool to investigate such relations empirically. Through the dialectical interaction with the theory and empirical material in this study, a few analytical tools were developed. Those tools were the Individual-Practice-Demand relation model (Figure 18, page 111), guidelines for analysing the empirical data for demand, counter-demand, conflict, and conflict resolution (Figure 20, page 118) and the flowchart for determining the

dominance of the motive-orientation from the action of conflict resolution (Figure 21, page 119). Although these tools are still developing, they have been proven to fit their purpose in this study. Nonetheless, future research or utilisation of these tools should be open enough to allow for the further development of these tools.

Through the above tools, this study has also managed to utilise Hedegaard's Model of Children's Learning and Development (Figure 1, page 30) to chart out the objects that are important in a society and its subsequent relation to the institutional practices and the individual person. This is done through anchoring the study to the societal context of Brunei Darussalam. The diagram in Figure 84 on page 221 shows the activities across the institutional practices in the societal context of Brunei Darussalam that projected demands towards the young people in the country. This achievement offers another angle to look at, and utilise, Hedegaard's model in a study into the fundamental relation between young people and academic study.

8. Conclusion

This research started out with a naïve question about the relation of young people in Brunei to academic study. The question arose out of the need to conduct meaningful interventions to improve young people's engagement in academic study activity which could be implemented in support of the strategy of the Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam.

Interest in such a question is also shared by researchers in other theoretical traditions, who can be distinguished from this research in their conceptualisation of the relation. Through the conceptualisation of the relation in this research, the relation of young people to academic study is explained by young people's individual motive hierarchy, diagrammatically represented as an empirically-grounded theoretical model.

Generally, I am not aware of the existence of any other investigation into young people's relation to academic study from a holistic perspective that includes exploration of the essential internal relation. As such, this project is still at the beginning of an on-going process and further development is still needed in order to construct a fuller representation of a person's motive hierarchy and thereby explain their relation to academic study.

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